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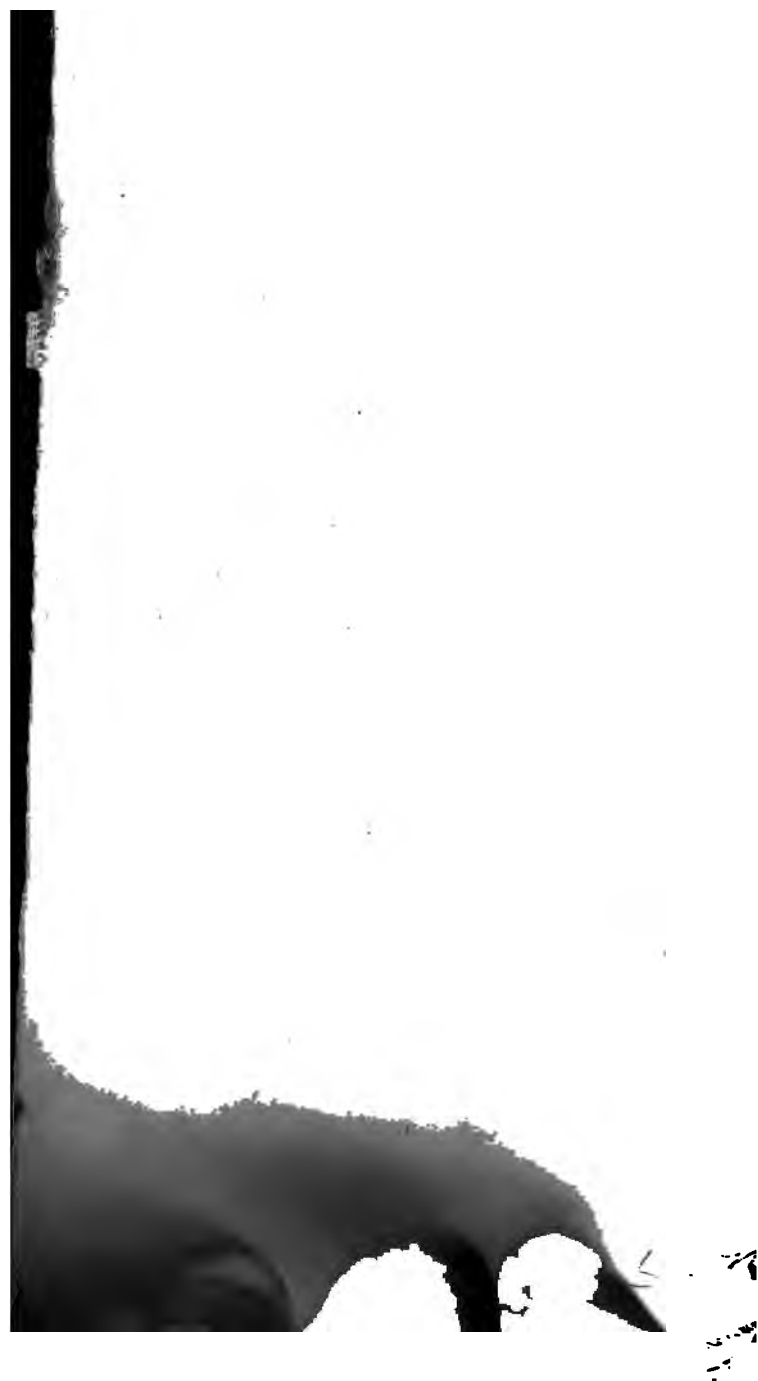
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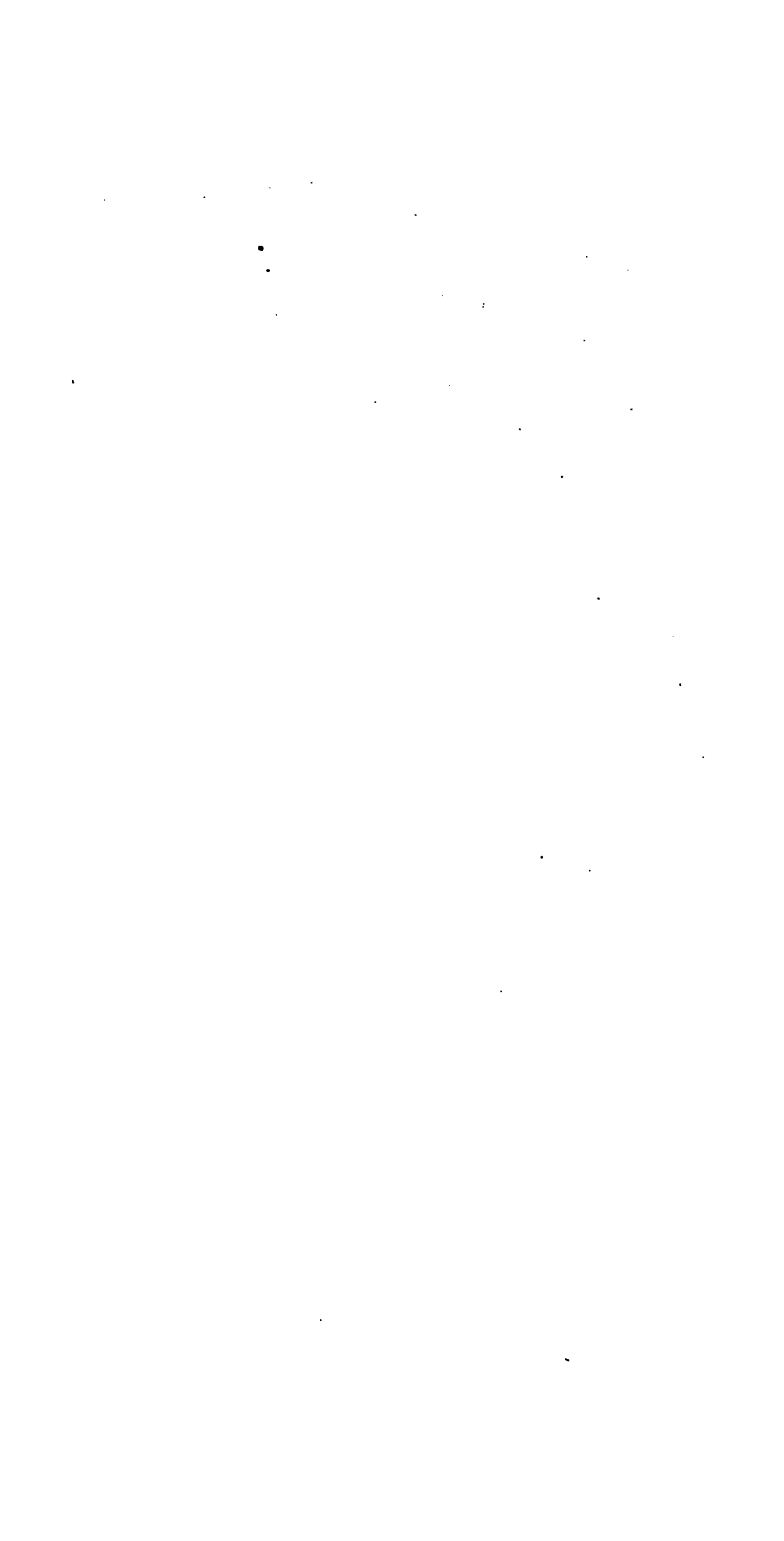
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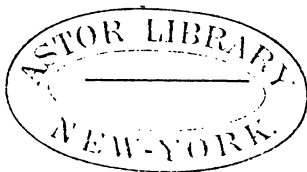






THE BELIEF
OF THE
FIRST THREE CENTURIES
CONCERNING
CHRIST'S MISSION TO THE UNDERWORLD.

By FREDERIC HUIDEKOPER.



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P R E F A C E.

THE following treatise was commenced nearly three years ago, under the supposition that it could be finished in three or four days, and with no further intention than that of translating some passages on the subject of which it treats, as one evidence among many that the Gospels did not originate in the opinions of the Early Christians. It grew on the writer's hands, led to investigations which he had not anticipated, and was delayed by other duties.

The size to which it has grown is not, probably, disproportionate to the place held by its subject among early Christian views ; and if we are ever to have a satisfactory picture of their theology, it must be by giving to each feature its due proportions. The man who should treat of Millerism by ransacking its productions for every casual allusion to the Atonement, Original Sin, or Predestination, and should spread the result of his labors over volumes, while he barely hinted at a belief by the Millerites of the Second Coming, would give a very disproportioned picture of his subject. Yet such a picture would not be more faulty than many a portraiture of the early centuries. The writings of the Fathers have been

searched for their opinions on points concerning which they scarcely thought at all, whilst subjects of great interest to them have been neglected. Such of their expressions as could be made to bear on modern controversies have been extracted from their own systems of thought, and reconstructed into modern systems. The process has resembled that of a man who should reconstruct the fragments of Grecian statuary and temples into crucifixes and Gothic churches, and should expect by a treatise on each fragment to convey a good idea of the original design. A reproduction of the original work would be simpler, and answer the purpose better.

That a subject so prominent among the Early Christians as the Underworld Mission should have been passed by without a word, or with scarcely a word, by leading Ecclesiastical Historians, is singular. The elaborately terse work of Gieseler does not allude to it. Neander, who is regarded as having penetrated deeply into the spirit of the ancient Church, has written what makes, in Torrey's Translation, a large and closely printed volume, on the first three centuries. Of this, three hundred and twenty pages are devoted to Catholic and Heretical doctrines, without, I believe, any but an insufficient allusion to the Underworld Mission (Vol. I. p. 654), and a mention of Marcion's peculiarity (Ibid. p. 471), although the statement (Ibid. p. 641) that Christ gave himself to the Evil One as a ransom for mankind seems to require some explanation, in order to render it intelligible, concerning Satan's Lordship over the Underworld, and Christ's descent thither. Mosheim, Milner, and Priestley, so far as I have been able to ascertain by a cursory examination, do not mention Christ's mission below in their respective Church Histories, though

the first of these, in his copious Commentaries on the Affairs of Christians before Constantine, a work, in the original, of nearly one thousand quarto pages, casually introduces (Vol. I. p. 495, edition of Dr. Murdock) a mention of Marcion's peculiar bias on the subject.

The treatise apparently of most reputation as a history of Christ's descent to the Underworld is by J. A. Dietelmaier, "*Historia Dogmatis de Descensu Christi ad Inferos.*" My efforts to procure it were unsuccessful. The few works or articles that I have seen on the subject of this treatise did not prove satisfactory. J. L. Koenig, in his "*Lehre von Christi Hoellenfahrt,*" pp. 260 – 268, has filled nine pages with the titles alone of Works, Articles, and Sermons on this subject. His work did not reach me until my own was nearly finished. An examination of the titles of some of the works which he has mentioned, and a perusal of occasional extracts from, or references to, others, convinced me that the mass of them would aid my investigations but little. Most of them I suspect to be written from a doctrinal point of view. If this suspicion be correct, Christ's descent to the Underworld must in its most uninteresting shape, namely, as a point of doctrine, have occasioned an unusual amount of controversy, whilst its interesting and historical bearings have been overlooked.

The belief by the Early Christians of their special exemption from the Underworld, effected by Christ's descent thither, was to my own mind novel, and, as a point of history, interesting. Whether it will prove equally so to others, I do not know.

My chief object in writing has been the argument for the Gospels, in § XXV. The tone in which Christianity has fre-

quently been defended must be my excuse for not thinking it superfluous to add, that, though I would deem no toil misplaced which should give men a deeper confidence in the supernatural character of Christianity, yet I hope that I should recognize mental superiority, appreciate moral worth, and feel attracted towards whatever was lovely in one that did not accept Christianity as a revelation, equally as in one that did.

May I caution the reader who recoils from Church authority, not to go to the opposite extreme of judging the Fathers to be weaklings because they had not outgrown the errors of their times? He who should judge Julius Cæsar by his account of catching wild beasts * in Germany, or Tacitus by his story of the Phoenix,† might readily under-estimate them.

* "There are some beasts also which are called Alces. These are like goats in figure and in the diversity of their skins, but are somewhat larger. They lack horns, and have legs devoid of joints; nor do they lie down when they rest; nor if they by any accident fall, can they get up again. Trees serve them for couches. They place themselves against them, and leaning but a little, take their rest. When the hunters perceive, from the marks, whither they are accustomed to be, take themselves, they either root up or cut all the trees in that place, so that their upper part is left with the appearance as if they were standing. When the animals recline here as usual, they overturn the infirm trees by their weight, and fall with them." Cæsar De Bello Gallico Lib. VI. c. 27.

† "In the consulships of Paulus Fabius and Lucius Vitellius the Phoenix bird, after a long circuit of years, came [again] into Egypt, and afforded to the most learned both from among the natives and the Greeks, material for much discussion concerning the wonder. I will narrate the things in which they agree, and others, which, though doubtful, are not absurd subjects for investigation. That bird (*animal*) is sacred to

Our missionaries have not found that a communication of Christianity at once dispels the former education of their converts. Why should it have been different in the second century. In Howard Malcom's "Travels in Southeastern Asia," (Vol. I. note on p. 262, edit. of 1839,) the reader will find that "it was some time before the Christian converts [in Burmah] could be reconciled to Mr. Judson's performing the marriage ceremony, or being present in any way. "It seemed to them absolutely obscene." Accustomed to

"the sun, and those who have described its form agree that it differs from "other birds in its appearance and in the separation (or singularity, *distinctu*) of its feathers. Concerning the number of years [between its "visits] there are various reports. The most current assigns a space of "five hundred years. Some assert an interval of one thousand four "hundred and sixty-one, and say that the former birds first in the reign of "Sesosidis, afterwards in that of Amasis, then in that of Ptolemy, the "third king of the Macedonian line, flew to the city called Heliopolis " (city of the sun), with a great accompaniment of other birds, astonished "at the unusual appearance. The ancient part of it is however obscure. "Between Ptolemy and Tiberius were less than two hundred and fifty "years, whence some have supposed this last Phoenix to be a spurious "one, not from the land of Arabia, and to have had nothing belonging "to it of those things which were established by ancient tradition. When "the number of [its] years is finished, and death approaches, it constructs "a nest in its own country, and infuses into it a producing power out of "which the fetus springs. The first care of this when grown is to bury "its parent, nor that rashly, but having taken up a load of Myrrha (an "Eastern stone) and tried it during a long journey, when it proves equal "to the burden and to the flight, it takes its parent's body and bears it "within the altar of the sun and burns it. These things are uncertain "and increased by fables; but there can be no doubt that that bird is "sometimes seen in Egypt." Tacitus, Annals, Lib. VI. c. 28.

deem the priest of their former faith polluted by presence at a wedding, they were, of course, shocked to see the minister of what they regarded as a still purer religion permit himself what would have made a priest of Burmah blush. The prepossessions of the Early Christians were not counteracted by missionaries schooled in foreign lands. Their teachers were from their own number, brought up under like influences with themselves. Why should we wonder that errors which Christianity directly, or but indirectly, opposed, and still more those of which it said nothing, were not at once dispelled from the minds of such as professed it?

MEADVILLE, PA., *July 21, 1853.*

At the above date, the printing of a few copies was concluded, which had been struck off chiefly to facilitate revision. The friends to whom a portion were sent will find subjoined to a change on p. 134 a note which to some may not be devoid of interest. Minor additions or alterations occur on pp. iv., 29, 38, 75, 121, 133, 136, 140 - 146, 154 - 155. Others of still less consequence are scattered through the work. The references in the Index to Life, Death, and Salvation may aid an examination into the meaning of those terms, as used in the second and third centuries.

MEADVILLE, *April 11, 1854.*

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 15, line 26, *for* preaching of Peter, *read* 'Preaching of Peter.'

" 51, " 2, " souls, " spirits.

" 156, " 20, " Ps. xlix., " Ps. l.

CHRIST'S MISSION TO THE UNDERWORLD.

§ I. PRELIMINARY.

It has been supposed * that in "the Homeric and Hesiodic ages, the world or universe was" regarded as "a hollow globe divided into two equal portions by the flat disc of the earth"; that "the superior hemisphere was named HEAVEN, the inferior one TARTARUS." There is nothing inherently improbable in the idea that such a view should have once prevailed; but the passages † adduced in its favor are insufficient to prove it.

At the Christian era the Underworld appears to have been regarded as an immense cavern in the depths of the earth. No living man was supposed to have seen it; nor had any from among the dead returned to describe it. The descriptions of it by the poets may have created or strengthened general impressions as to its nature, but were so obviously efforts of fancy, or so inconsistent, that they could not establish permanent and well-defined ideas of its interior structure.

* Anthon's Classical Dictionary, Art. Tartarus.

† They are the two following: "I (Jupiter) will throw him into dark Tartarus --- as much below Hades as heaven is from the earth." *Iliad* VIII. 13-16. "They bound (the Titans) with heavy chains --- as much below the earth as heaven is from it." *Hesiod, Theog.* vv. 718-720.

He who should attempt the fruitless task of obtaining from Christians in the nineteenth century the subdivisions and interior structure of heaven, would soon learn to appreciate the vagueness of ancient conceptions touching the Underworld.

This vast subterranean cavern was popularly regarded as the dwelling of the human race, — a belief, of course, not shared by those sceptics who denied man's future existence, and which must have been held in a limited shape, if at all, by such as allotted the philosophic soul a super-terrestrial residence hereafter. Whether a disbelief in the Underworld AS A RESIDENCE FOR HUMAN SOULS went hand in hand with a disbelief in the very existence of such a place, may be a question. Plato so interweaves the lower regions with his system of natural science,* as to warrant the supposition that others might with various modifications believe in the locality without receiving it as man's future abode.

Christians quoted the Saviour in proof that it was in the

* In the Phædo of Plato the earth appears as a sphere [§ 132, (58)] hung in space and surrounded by the heavens; Tartarus (to be distinguished, evidently, from the Lower Regions), as a far distant chasm [§§ 139 - 142, (160, 161)], extending completely through the earth, into which the rivers, the ocean being one of the four principal ones, poured from above the earth and from below the earth, being never permitted to pass its centre, for the opposite side of the earth would be "up-hill" to them. From this chasm they flowed through the earth's interior realms, and, apparently by this route, regained their former sources. The subterranean streams of mud and fire occasionally found their way out through our volcanoes.

Tertullian comments on the foregoing view of Plato, or rather on his own statement of it, by saying: "To us the Underworld (Inferi) is not "an EXPOSED cavity nor any OPEN receptacle for the bilge-water of the "world, but a vast region extending upward and downward in the earth " (*in fossa terrae et in alto vastitas*), a profundity hid away in its very "bowels. For we read that Christ passed the three days of his death in "the HEART of the earth, that is, in an internal recess, hidden in the earth "itself and hollowed out within it, and based upon yet lower abysses." De Anima, c. 55, p. 353. A. B.

HEART of the earth, an expression which probably does not imply that they believed the earth a sphere, or that they had any defined ideas of its shape.

At the Christian era, popular phraseology would have made little distinction between the fact of man's death, and the idea of his descent to the Lower Regions. The latter was regarded as implied in the former. When Peter quotes * from the Psalms in evidence that God would not leave Christ in the Underworld, he makes no effort to prove that Christ had ever gone there. This was an inference which his hearers would probably have regarded as necessarily involved in his death.† It needed no proof.

But if Christ went to the Underworld, what did he do there? This was a question not unlikely to present itself to some inquiring mind. The supposition has been made and contested, that this question suggested itself already in the Apostolic age, and that we have from the pen of Peter an attempted solution ‡ of it. To the examination of this point we shall return hereafter. ||

On leaving the Apostolic age, we almost lose sight of the Christians in an historical chasm of sixty or eighty years. When they reappear on the hither side of it, we find, so far as their records enable us to judge, that, among all the parties

* Acts ii. 27, 31; compare Psalm xvi. 10.

† Lactantius in the beginning of the fourth century seems to have regarded the like inference a reliable one concerning the Heathen gods, whom for the time being he must have regarded as deified men. "If any one," he says, "would inquire further, let him congregate such as are skilled in summoning souls from the Underworld. Let them call out Jupiter, Neptune, Vulcan, Mercury, Apollo, and Saturn the father of all; and, when interrogated, they will speak and make confession concerning themselves and concerning God. After this let them summon Christ. He will not come nor appear, for he only abode two days in the Underworld. What can be proposed more certain than this test?" Div. Inst. IV. 27.

‡ 1 Pet. iii. 19.

|| See § XI.

into which they are divided, though with one modification hereafter to be made,* a belief has become firmly established that Christ performed a mission in the Underworld. The variety of discussions as to its nature prove the universality of belief in the supposed fact of the mission itself. To these discussions we will now attend.

§ II. CONTROVERSY OF MARCION WITH THE CATHOLIC CHRISTIANS.

As the Christians emerge from the historical chasm mentioned in the preceding section, we find them, besides Jewish Christians, divided into two general parties, the Gnostics and Catholics, the latter being the main body of Christians. The Gnostics regarded the Old and New Testaments, not only as distinct revelations, but as proceeding from distinct beings. The author of the former was revealed in it as the Creator and Ruler of this world, and in this light they regarded him. The source of the latter was a superior Deity, concerning whom the Saviour himself had said, "*No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him*"; † a statement which precluded the idea of His having been revealed to man at a still earlier date. Paul also had clearly distinguished, as the Marcionites thought, the "God of this world" ‡ from the author of Christianity. The Catholics, on the other hand, regarded the two revelations as having their origin in the same source.

The Gnostics may besubdivided into MARCIONITES and THEOSOPHIC or ALEXANDRINE Gnostics, the latter branch

* See § IV.

† Matt. xi. 27; Luke x. 22; Irenæus, IV. 6. 1 (IV. 14); Tertul. adv. Marcion. IV. 25, p. 544. A.

‡ 2 Cor. iv. 4; Tertul. adv. Marcion. V. 11, pp. 597. D., 598. A.

admitting still other subdivisions. Deferring these latter for a future section, we shall here confine ourselves to the former. The Marcionites took their name and system from their leader Marcion. His writings have perished, and we are obliged to sift out his opinions from the statements or misstatements of his opponents. He was a native of Pontus in Asia Minor. His religious system was tinctured by the asceticism of his age, and his theological views were probably biased by the sharpness of that collision which must have existed between himself and whatever was Jewish, either within or without the Christian pale. On some points his religious views contrast favorably with those of his Catholic brethren, especially with those of his ultra opponents,* though he seems to have lacked judgment as a logician and interpreter, and to have solved not a few of his New Testament difficulties in a manner peculiar to himself, by the application of a pruning-knife to what he could not harmonize with his system.

Irenæus tells us: "Besides (Marcion's) blasphemy against [the Jewish] God, he added this, receiving indeed a mouth from the Devil, and speaking all things contrary to the truth; that Cain and those who were like him, and the Sodomites and Egyptians, and those who were like them, and in fact all the Gentiles † who had walked in thorough wickedness, were saved by the Lord when he descended into the Underworld, and that they had hastened to him, and that he took them into his kingdom. But Abel and Enoch and Noah and the other Just Men, and those who belonged to the Patriarch Abraham, with all the Prophets and such as had pleased God, did not, according to the

* See Neander's Church History, Torrey's edition, Vol. I. pp. 327, 328. Moehler, the Roman Catholic, speaks of Marcion as "the most pious of Gnostics." See his Symbolism, p. 274.

† Or possibly, "all such nations as had walked." A Latin translation of the passage alone remains, nor does the parallel Greek of Theodoret here assist us.

“preaching of the serpent in Marcion, participate in the salvation. ‘For since,’ he said, ‘they knew that their God was ‘always trying them, and suspected that he was trying them ‘then, they did not hasten to Jesus nor believe what he announced; and therefore’ (Marcion) said ‘their souls remained in the Underworld.’” *

Essentially the same account of Marcion’s view is given in Theodoret’s “*Hæreticorum Fabulae*,” I. 24.† Epiphanius, in the latter part of the fourth century, who never suffers the follies of heretics to be diminished in his account of them, specifies ‡ Cain, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram as among the worthies thus heretically saved.

Marcion was a rigid moralist, and accepted the historical accuracy of the Old Testament. On this accuracy, in fact, he based no small part of his argument for the distinction of the Jewish Deity, the JUST God, as he termed him, from the Father, the GOOD God, whom Christ had revealed. Can we then believe the statements of Irenæus and others concerning him? Or are they but misapplications which his enemies have made of general and unguarded expressions?

Marcion may have supposed the Jews in the Underworld to be essentially the same stiff-necked, perverse race which they had shown themselves on earth; that there, as here, the Gospel had met its chief acceptance among Gentiles. He may, too, have used in perfect good faith the argument ||

* *Contra Hæres.* I. 27. 3 (I. 29).

† *Opera*, Vol. IV. p. 158.

‡ *Adv. Hæres.* XLII. 4, *Opera*, Vol. I. p. 305. A.

|| Based on such passages, perhaps, as the following. “If there arise among you a prophet - - and giveth thee a sign or wonder, and the sign or wonder come to pass whereof he spake unto thee, saying, ‘Let us go after other Gods which thou hast not known, and let us serve them,’ thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, - - for the Lord your God PROVEETH *“you.”* Deut. xiii. 1-3. “God did TEMPT Abraham.” Gen. xxii. 1. “Then said the Lord, - - The People shall go out and gather a certain rate every day, that I may PROVE them.” Exod. xvi. 4. “Moses said unto The People, ‘Fear not; for God is come to PROVE you.’” Exod. xx. 20.

which Irenæus puts into his mouth. Antagonism to Jewish prejudices might prompt him to specify the Egyptians, the ancient and hated enemies of Israel, as not excluded from Christ's teaching, and he may have understood the Saviour's lamentation over Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, as implying that Sodom and Gomorrah would repent * at his instructions; an interpretation which was actually put upon it by at least one Catholic writer, as will appear under the second division of the next head. But for the salvation of Cain and similar worthies there is no plausible ground discernible in Marcion's system. The connection between Cain and the Sodomites existed more probably in the minds of Marcion's opponents than in his own statements. Irenæus manifests considerable feeling in his account of Marcion; a feeling which, it would seem fair to infer from extracts that will be given in the next section, was not confined to himself.

* The idea of repentance in the narrative of Luke (x. 13) is directly connected, not with Sodom and Gomorrah, but with Tyre and Sidon; though, as an inference, it might very well bear a connection with the former. In Matthew, however, a capacity of repentance is implied for Sodom (xi. 23): "*If the mighty works . . . had been done in Sodom, it would have remained to this day.*" It is true that Matthew's Gospel was one of the three which Marcion was not accustomed to use. He confined himself almost exclusively to his own expurgated copy of Luke, distrusting the Jewish prejudices of any save Paul's companion. Yet when testimony in the other Evangelists militated against what Marcion deemed Jewish preconceptions, he seems to have used it as reliable. Thus the passage, "*Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?*" (Matt xii. 48; Mark. iii. 33,) though not to be found in Luke, was according to Tertullian (Adv. Marcion. IV. 19, p. 531. D.) a "most constant argument of all who dispute the Lord's nativity," that is, of Marcion and his followers.

Some explanation of Marcion's exclusiveness towards Abraham and his posterity in the Underworld might be found in those remarks of the Saviour which imply an indifference to his teachings on the part of the cities most favored with them, GREATER than could have been looked for in Sodom and Gomorrah. Marcion was accustomed to push the meaning of such passages.

§ III. CONSEQUENT CONTROVERSY AMONG CATHOLICS.

1. ULTRA ANTI-GNOSTICS OR ORTHODOX.*

ALL the Catholic Fathers maintained that the Mosaic institutions were not essential to salvation. A portion of them, who from their fear of heresy may be designated as the ultra Anti-Gnostic, or Orthodox party, coincided closely with the Jews on several points. Yet, as not unfrequently happens, it was in this party — the one most nearly allied to them — that the Jews found their warmest opponents. The writers are of this semi-Jewish party, — if it may so be termed, — who have left us the most elaborate and strenuous arguments to prove the non-essential character of the Mosaic institutions. Abel, Enoch, Noah, and others; had proved acceptable to God without them, and hence they were evidently unnecessary to salvation.† Justin Martyr affirms that they were given to the Jews solely on account of their hardness of heart; and adds, “Unless this be so, God will be calumniated as destitute “of foreknowledge and as not teaching the same rules of “righteousness to all for their knowledge and observance.”‡

Consistently with their own arguments, the writers of this party were the last who could have restricted the benefits of Christ’s Underworld mission to the Jews. Yet antipathy to

* I use the terms Orthodox and Liberalist, in the absence of better ones, to designate, not personal character, but party distinctions, for some explanation of which the reader is referred to the Appendix, Note E. It would be a mistake, as regards character, to contrast Cyprian and Hermas as samples, the former of a liberalist and the latter of an exclusive. On the classification of Tertullian, the reader will please compare a note under the fifth division of Section XXII.

† Justin Martyr, Dial. cc. 19, 27 : Tertul. adv. Judæos, c. 2 ; Irenæus, IV. 16. 2. (IV. 30).

‡ Dial. c. 92 ; compare 23. Compare also the Sibylline Oracles, Book VIII. line 287 (301), p. 736.

Marcion seems to have made them forget their own reasoning, and reject as heresy in the Underworld what they defended as Orthodoxy on earth. In judging how much force should be attributed to the following extracts from their writings, the reader will do well to suspend his opinion until he has perused the citation from Clement, which is evidently meant as a reply to their views.

Justin Martyr, as will appear under § IX., quotes and perhaps alters a passage so as to make it the "dead from among ISRAEL" to whom the Lord preached, and cites the Old Testament in proof that the FATHERS confessed him. As he was arguing to the Jews, he might have been prompted, not by opposition to Marcion, but by the desire of showing that even the Jews, and the Fathers themselves, had need of Christ. The same explanation will hardly apply to all the following extracts.

Irenæus tells us, "Therefore the Lord descended to the regions under the earth, preaching to them also his advent, the sins of such as believed on him being remitted. But all believed on him who WERE HOPING FOR HIM, that is, who had FORETOLD HIS COMING and OBEYED HIS STATUTES,* the JUST MEN,† and PROPHETS, and PATRIARCHS, to whom he remitted their sins in like manner as to us."‡ Elsewhere he states as the object of Christ's death, "That he might announce the glad tidings to ABRAHAM AND THOSE WHO WERE WITH HIM."|| Elsewhere he speaks of the Lord's suffering as the means of awakening his sleeping "DISCIPLES," a term which he, at least, would not have applied to

* Justin and the subsequent Fathers maintained, though at the expense sometimes of consistency, that it was Jesus or the Logos who had spoken to Moses at the bush, and to the Prophets. See Appendix, Note A.

† Just Men. To some extent this was a technical term for those who in the Old Testament were said to have pleased God. Compare extract from Irenæus in § II.

‡ Cont. Hæres. IV. 27. 2 (IV. 45).

|| Ibid. V. 33. 1.

the just Gentiles that had lived prior to Christ, and which he further explains by saying that "Christ came . . . on account " of all men who from the beginning . . . had both feared " and loved God . . . and DESIRED TO SEE CHRIST, and to " hear his voice." * The sleeping disciples on whose account he had descended to the Lower Regions were those of whom he had said to his Apostles, "*Many Prophets and " Just Men have desired to see and hear what you see and " hear.*" † And again he quotes, ‡ without the prophet's name, a spurious passage from the Old Testament, hereafter to be noticed, which limits the salvation that had taken place to the "SAINTS," a term that could not have included departed Gentiles, and which it may be noticed under the second division of our present head that Clement of Alexandria omits from his quotation — a *memoriter* one probably — of Matthew xxvii. 52, where its introduction would have spoiled his argument. It seems to have been unconsciously added to the passage by the prepossessions of Irenæus, since in four other quotations of it by himself and one by Justin this term does not appear.

The Epistle ascribed to Barnabas in a passage to be quoted more fully hereafter, regards Christ as having suffered, "that he might render to THE FATHERS what had been "promised them." ||

A passage in the SMALLER GREEK epistles attributed to Ignatius coincides in tone with the first extract above given from Irenæus: "How shall we live without him whom THE "PROPHETS — being his disciples ** through the spirit (i. e. "through his supernatural communications to them) — looked

* Ibid. IV. 22. 1 (IV. 39).

† Ibid. The uncircumcised whom Irenæus mentions at the close of the chapter as justified by faith, are the Patriarchs prior to the time of Abraham in whom the Gentile Christians are "prefigured."

‡ Ibid. V. 31. 1. See this spurious passage in § VIII.

|| *Ut promissum patribus redderet*, c. 5. ** See Appendix, Note A.

“for as their teacher [in the Underworld]. And on this account he whom they justly expected, being come, waked them from the dead.”*

Tertullian represents an opponent of one of his views as saying, “I think (that Christ descended) to the souls of THE PATRIARCHS.”† And again he represents opponents as speaking of “Paradise, whither already the Patriarchs and “Prophets, the companions of the Lord’s resurrection, have “passed from the Underworld.”‡ He himself says that “Christ did not ascend the heights of heaven before he had “‘descended into the lower parts of the earth’ that there he “might make the PATRIARCHS AND PROPHETS participators of “himself.”||

The devout Irenæus, author of *The Shepherd*, seems to have been so absorbed in the subject of practical righteousness,—or of what he mistook for it,—as to have mingled little in the polemics of his day. Yet he belonged apparently to the ultra Anti-Gnostic or Orthodox division of Catholics, and in a passage, to be more fully quoted in the thirteenth section, he explains his own allegory concerning ten and twenty-five stones which were successively brought up (from the Underworld) to be built into the foundation of Christ’s Church, by saying that these stones represented the first and second ages of Just Men,—the ages as it would seem from Adam to Abraham and from Abraham to Moses,—after which thirty more are brought up representing the Prophets and ministers of the Lord under the Mosaic dispensation. The passage may have but an indirect connection with the Lord’s descent, yet the omission of Gentiles from the list of saved indicates equally the prevailing bias.

* Magnesians, c. 9 (III. 5. 6).

† De Anima, c. 7, p. 309. D.

‡ Ibid. c. 55, p. 353. C. As these opponents held the heretical view, that Christian souls went at death to Paradise, Tertullian, to whose main point the present question was unimportant, probably stated their opinions in his own phraseology.

|| Ibid.

No member of the foregoing party admits, so far as I have been able to discover, a liberation by Christ of the GENTILES below.

2. LIBERALISTS OR HETERODOX.

Among the Catholics who did not feel bound to recoil on every point as far as possible from Gnosticism, the Alexandrine School stood prominent. The writings of Clement of Alexandria, of Origen, and some fragments, constitute all * its extant literature out of the second and third centuries. Its adherents appear to have maintained in the present controversy the same generous tone of theology which was their wont. Clement led the way in defending the cause of departed Gentiles, and — judging from his tone and manner — found it hard work to stem the current of narrow feeling among his nominally Catholic brethren. He endeavors to support himself by an appeal to Hermas.

"The Shepherd," he says, "by speaking † simply (or 'without limitation') of 'THOSE WHO HAD FALLEN ASLEEP' recognizes some as Just Men both among the GENTILES and Jews, [and thus recognizes] not only such as preceded the Lord's coming, but those PRIOR TO THE LAW, who were well pleasing to God, as Abel, Noah, or any other Just Man. . . . 'For when the Gentiles, not having the Law, do by nature what the Law requires, though they have not the Law, they are a law to themselves,' (Rom. ii. 14,) according to the Apostle." ‡

The admitted acceptability to God of men who lived prior to Moses or Abraham was, as already stated, a favorite argument with the Early Christians in proving against the Jews

* Athenagoras has sometimes been classed with this school; but the evidence therefor is insufficient, and his distinguishing views are diametrically opposed to those of its undoubted leaders and disciples.

† The passage alluded to will be found in the thirteenth section.

‡ Strom. II. 9, Clementis Opp. p. 452.

the equal privileges of the Gentiles. Clement seems to have thought, and justly, that if it were logical and a good Catholic doctrine above ground, it could not be illogical and heretical below.

Elsewhere he argues as follows: "To those who were just according to the Law, faith was wanting. - - - To the just according to Philosophy, not only faith in the Lord, but abstinence from Idolatry * was needful. Wherefore the Lord preached to those in the Underworld; for according to the Scripture, *'The Underworld says to Destruction, We have not, indeed, seen his form, but we have heard his voice.'* (Job xxviii. 22?) It was not the place which, after listening to his voice, spoke the foregoing, but those [without distinction of race] who were in the Underworld. - - - These are they who attended to the Divine voice and [manifestation of] power. For what reasonable man

* The Early Christians, in their fierce contest with the Heathen worship around them, came to regard idolatry as the sin of all sins, not merely in a Christian, who must violate his conscience by idol-worship, but in the Heathens, who deemed it their duty. The man who persevered until death in idolatry was, according to their teaching, lost. It would appear from Clement's remark, that his opponents made no distinction in this respect between those who died before and such as died after Christ, obvious as, according to their system, the distinction must have been to any one who did not, for the sake of maintaining his position, wish to overlook it. I have not, however, found a statement of this reason for excluding the Gentiles from the benefits of Christ's subterranean mission, in any writer of the second or third century. In the fourth century Augustine represents Faustus the Manichæan as saying: "Yet this alone appears to me objectionable in this opinion of yours, that you should believe it only of the Jewish Fathers and not of the others also, — the Patriarchs of the Gentiles, — that they too had experienced at some time this favor of our Liberator, especially since the Christian assembly is composed to a greater extent of their children than from the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. But you say indeed, 'The Gentiles worshipped idols, the Jews worshipped the Omnipotent God, therefore Jesus cared for them only.'" Augustine cont. Faustum, Lib. XXXIII. c. 1.

“ would brand Providence with injustice, by deeming the
 “ souls of Just Men [from among the Gentiles] and sinners
 “ [of all nations] under one condemnation? What! Do not
 “ the Scriptures manifest that the Lord preached the Gospel
 “ to those who perished in the deluge, — or rather * to such
 “ as had been bound, and to those in prison and custody? It
 “ has been shown [by me] in the second book of Stromata,
 “ that the Apostles,† in imitation of the Lord, preached the
 “ Gospel to those in the Underworld. For there also, as here,
 “ I think that it behooved the best ‡ of the disciples to be im-
 “ itators of their Teacher, that the one should lead to conver-
 “ sion the Hebrews, and the others the Gentiles; that is,
 “ such of both as had lived according to the justice of the
 “ Law or of Philosophy, not perfectly indeed, but imperfect-
 “ ly.” ||

“ If then the sole cause of the Lord’s descent to the Under-
 “ world was to preach the Gospel, — as descend he certainly
 “ did, — it was either that he might preach it to all, or to the
 “ Hebrews alone. But if to all, then ALL WHO BELIEVED will
 “ be saved, even if they should be from among the Gentiles,
 “ seeing that they have already heartily confessed him there.
 “ . . . But if he preached the Gospel to the Jews only, to
 “ whom the knowledge and faith which come by the Saviour

* A self-correction. Clement intended to appeal, not to Peter, but to Isaiah xlix. 8, 9: “ *I assisted thee . . . that thou mightest say to the bound, ‘Go forth,’ and to those in darkness, ‘Be manifest.’*” He had previously explained “the bound” as meaning the Jews, and “those in darkness,” the Gentiles. See Strom. VI. 6, p. 762. Perhaps, moreover, Clement thought the passage of Peter (iii. 19, 20) too strong for his purpose, since according to it Christ preached to the WICKED, whereas he found his own hands full in maintaining that the Saviour preached to RIGHTEOUS Gentiles.

† The passage referred to is a simple quotation from Hermas, and is included in the extract from that writer which will be given in the thirteenth section.

‡ The Shepherd says forty.

|| Strom. VI. 6, pp. 762, 763.

“were wanting, it is manifest that, as God is no respecter of external distinctions, the Apostles there also, as here, must have preached it to such of the Gentiles as were fitted for conversion. So that it is well said by the Shepherd, - - - “ ‘THOSE WHO HAD ALREADY FALLEN ASLEEP descended [into “the baptismal water] dead, but ascended alive.’

Moreover the Gospel says (Matt. xxvii. 52), ‘MANY “*bodies of those who had fallen asleep arose,*’ obviously meaning that they had been transferred to a better place. There took place, therefore, some GENERAL movement and translation [i. e. both of Jews and Gentiles] under the Saviour’s dispensation. One Just Man, therefore, is not differently treated from another; and this is proper, whether he be under the Law or a Greek: for God is not the Lord of the Jews only, but of all men, and the Father of such as have known him more nearly. For if to live rightly is to live LAW-fully, and to live according to reason is to live according to the Law; and if those who lived rightly before the Law were regarded as faithful (or believers), and were pronounced Just,—it is manifest that those outside of the Law, who have lived rightly according to their conscience,* although they may have been in the Underworld and in custody, yet when they heard the voice of the Lord, — whether his own, or that which operated through the Apostles, — were immediately converted and believed.” †

Also, in the preaching of Peter, the Lord says to his disciples after the resurrection, ‘I have chosen you twelve disciples, judging you to be worthy of me’; — whom also the Lord, deeming them faithful, wished as his Apostles, sending them to preach throughout the inhabited world, - - - that those who heard and believed might be saved;

* Διὰ τὴν τῆς φωνῆς ιδιότητα. Perhaps more literally, “according to the peculiarities of that voice [whereby God spoke to them as to the ancient Patriarchs].” See Appendix, Note A.

† Strom. VI. 6, pp. 763, 764.

“ but that the unbelieving, in that they had heard, might bear witness that they could not say in apology, ‘ We have not heard.’ ”

“ What then ? Did not the same economy hold good in the Underworld ; that there, also, all the souls, having heard the preaching, might manifest repentance, or confess that their punishment was justly due to their unbelief ? For it would be no ordinary injustice * that those who preceded the Lord’s coming, and neither had the Gospel nor were responsible for believing or disbelieving, should partake of salvation or punishment. It would be altogether iniquitous that they should be condemned without a trial, and that only such as have lived since the Lord’s coming should have enjoyed the Divine justice.” †

Clement assumes above, that, whereas “ *MANY bodies of those who had fallen asleep arose* ” at the Saviour’s resurrection, the translation must have included the Gentiles. This scarcely accords with the position that the Apostles preached to these same Gentiles and baptized them below. The Apostles could not have preached in the Underworld to those who had already been removed out of it. Clement does not seem to have observed this inconsistency. He was led into it partly by the desire of pressing some support for his views out of the already established reputation of Hermas, and partly, it would seem, by the consciousness that, as Christ had not preached to the Gentiles on earth, analogy would favor such a mission in the Underworld on the part of the Apostles more readily than on that of the Master.

* Why had they or the righteous Jews been sent to the Underworld ? Clement deemed God’s punishments there (as in this life) to be intended for man’s improvement (a position, by the by, which, if consistently carried out, ought finally to have emptied the Underworld), — see his Works, p. 764, lines 3–6, and p. 766, lines 38, 39, — and would perhaps have given that as one answer. See also Appendix, Note B, on Mortality and its destiny.

† Strom. VI. 6, pp. 764, 765.

Touching the question whether it were Christ or the Apostles who preached to the departed Gentiles, Clement shifts his position, as if uncertain on what ground he might eventually best succeed in resting his defence; though the correctness of his main point—the call of the Gentiles—was already settled by his moral perception. His uncertainty is that of a man feeling his way in a new position, rather than of one who is defending a well-known opinion by long-established arguments.

Origen, the pupil of Clement, started, no doubt, in much of his theology, from the point to which his teacher had arrived. He regarded the benefits of Christ's death as not even limited to mankind, but extending to all rational creatures.* In a passage which refers especially to men, he tells us that "Christ gave his soul a ransom for many (Matt. xx. 28) "who believed on him, and if a belief of all upon him were "supposable, he would have given his soul a ransom for "all"† and adds, a little further on, that, in the Underworld, "ALL WHO WISHED to follow him from among Death's prisoners could do so."‡ Elsewhere he says, "The Patriarchs, therefore, and Prophets and ALL awaited [below] the "coming of my Lord Jesus Christ";|| nor does he appear to have considered a defence of such language requisite.

In Potter's edition of Clement, pp. 1006 to 1011, may be found a Latin commentary on some of the Catholic Epistles, entitled "**Adumbrations** of Clement." It is supposed ¶ to be the remains of a translation which Cassiodorus made or caused to be made, with expurgations, from a Greek work called Hypotyposes; a work which he regarded as Clement's.

* A statement of his views on this point may be found in the *Christian Examiner* (Boston), Vol. XI. pp. 42–46.

† Comment. in Matt., Tom. XVI., Opp. Vol. III. p. 726. A.

‡ Ibid., B.

|| Homil. II. on 1 Kings (i. e. Samuel), Vol. II. p. 498. A.

¶ See note on page 1006 of Potter's Clement.

I incline to the supposition, that these Adumbrations are from some Alexandrine cotemporary of Clement or Origen.*

The Adumbrations on Jude, after commenting on the fallen angels who were "*reserved in perpetual chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day*," quotes the beginning of verse seventh, "*Even as Sodom and Gomorrah*"; "to whom," says the writer, "the Lord signifies that more indulgence was shown [than to the fallen angels], and that **ON BEING INSTRUCTED THEY REPENTED.**"

The commentary is intelligible on the supposition alone that its writer referred to Christ's mission in the Underworld, and that he understood the Master's lamentation over the Jewish cities which had not listened to him (Matt. xi. 23, Luke x. 12, 13) as implying a better appreciation of his teachings by Sodom and Gomorrah.

Arnobius was a Latin Christian, and, though not of the ultra Anti-Gnostic or Orthodox,† does not belong to the Alexandrine School. He must, however, have been an admirer of Clement of Alexandria, whose ideas he has frequently copied. In the seventh section of this essay an extract from his writings will be given, which was intended by him as an answer to a question asked, or a difficulty urged, by THE GENTILES. If it had any force in meeting THEIR difficulty, it must have been on the supposition that Arnobius did not exclude Gentiles from the benefits of Christ's mission to the departed.

Cyprian, the disciple of Tertullian, swerved from the Orthodox on the subject of man's fate at death. His phrase-

* In a work by John Kaye, Bishop of Lincoln, entitled, "Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria," a note concerning the Hypotyposes will be found on pp. 5, 6. It extracts from Photius (an author of the ninth century) a statement touching objectionable doctrines which he found in these Hypotyposes. The fall of the angels, there mentioned, was the common doctrine of the early Fathers. The succession of worlds was a view of Origen.

† See his views in the Appendix, Note E.

ology as to the subjects of the Underworld mission, though not definite, is free from narrowness. In proof of the position that "No one can attain to God the Father except through his Son, Jesus Christ," he adduces, after proofs pertaining to the living, a misquotation or mistranslation of 1 Pet. iv. 6: "*For to this end the Gospel was preached to THE DEAD ALSO, that they might be raised up (or awaked, 'ut suscitentur').*"* An Orthodox writer would have found some quotation restricting this salvation to the Fathers, which would have strengthened his argument by bringing into prominence that even Abraham and the Prophets needed to participate in Christ's teaching. This is not of course conclusive as to Cyprian's opinions, but the absence of Orthodox phraseology from the language of one who had been educated in it, implies rather strongly that he did not share the opinions which prompted it. In his language concerning Paradise,† there is also nothing determinate as to who accompanied the Saviour thither at the time of his resurrection.

§ IV. ALEXANDRINE OR THEOSOPHIC Gnostics.

ALLUSION has already been made (under § II.) to the Alexandrine or Theosophic Gnostics,‡ a much more metaphysical class of thinkers than the Marcionites. Scanty fragments of their writings alone remain, and the arguments of their opponents hardly enable us to see into systems of thought which, as set forth by their own advocates, were

* Testimon. adv. Judæos, II. 27, p. 48.

† See Appendix, Note E.

‡ They are sometimes called Alexandrine, because their most distinguished leaders, Valentinus and Basilides, were from Alexandria, and because their views were strongly tinged with Alexandrine forms of thought; sometimes Theosophic, because of their metaphysical speculations concerning the Deity.

not probably very intelligible. The VALENTINIANS — concerning whom our information is least defective — were the main subdivision of this class of Gnostics, and though their opinions of Christ's descent, as hereafter to be stated, were probably shared by others, if not by all, of the Theosophic Gnostics, yet it is of the Valentinians only that any thing can be affirmed.

The Valentinians agreed with Marcion in regarding the being from whom the Saviour came as distinct from the God of the Jews, who was the Creator of this world. Their views of the latter were more favorable than Marcion's, and their system of the universe more complicated. They shared a not uncommon conception of their times, that the earth was spanned by seven heavens.* These, with the earth beneath them, were the work of the Jewish Deity,† who dwelt in the highest, or seventh.‡ Far above him, in the altitudes of space, lay the Pleroma, the residence of the Supreme Deity and of the spiritual beings or Æons who had been developed from him.

In the Middle Space — between the Creator and the Pleroma — dwelt "Wisdom" or Achamoth. Men were divided into three classes: the Earthly; the Rational or Psychical; and the Spiritual. The Earthly were destined to perish. The Rational perished or attained to salvation according to the lives which they led.|| The latter class of Rational, and also the Spiritual, prior to the Christian dispensation, passed at death, as it would seem, to a place of rest in the heavens of the Creator, probably to the seventh heaven, or else to Paradise,¶ which the Valentinians placed in the fourth or Middle

* See Appendix, note C.

† Irenæus I. 5. 2 (I. 1).

‡ Ibid. I. 5. 4 (I. 1).

|| Ibid. I. 6. 2 and 4; I. 7. 5.

¶ The Valentinians held, with many Catholics, that man was created in the Heavenly Paradise. That they should have agreed with the Catholics in regarding it as the place to which the Creator purposed restoring him, would seem not improbable, and the rather, since there would thus

Heaven. The Saviour removed the Spiritual out of this into the Middle Space. The Psychical — if the *Doctrina Orientalis* represents the opinions of all — remained * with the Creator until the consummation. They and the Creator were then to ascend to and dwell in the Middle Space,† while Wisdom and her children — the Spiritual — were to be elevated into the Pleroma, and this world was to be burnt up.

Jesus was the supernaturally constituted Messiah of the Creator. To assist him in his important work, the Æon Saviour descended into him at his baptism out of the Pleroma, but rose again and left him when he was taken before Pilate. It is of this Æon Saviour, and not of Jesus, that mention is made in the following extracts out of the “*Doctrina Orientalis*” ‡ or “*Excerpta Theodoti*.”

have been a correspondence between the two places of rest, — the MIDDLE Heaven and the MIDDLE Space. The Valentinians were fond of such correspondences between the works of the Creator and those above him, believing that he had wrought under an influence from the Pleroma.

On the other hand, it will appear towards the latter part of this section that Heracleon used the same term, Jerusalem, as symbolical of the Creator who dwelt in the SEVENTH heaven, and as symbolical also of the place of souls. The *Doctrina Orientalis*, c. 63, treats the “other faithful souls” who were not yet admitted to the Middle Space as remaining for the present with the Creator; a dubious expression, since it might mean in his realms; yet I incline to understand it as meaning in his immediate presence. And the Ascension of Isaiah, which, of all Catholic documents, has, on subordinate points, most resemblance with the Valentinian theology, places Adam and the saints in the SEVENTH heaven (ch. ix. 6–9), differing therein from all other Catholic writings. — See more on this subject under § XXII. 6.

* *Doctrina Orient.* c. 63.

† *Ibid.* cc. 63, 64.

‡ The full title is “Abstracts from the Writings of Theodotus and from the so-called Eastern Teaching of the Times of Valentinus.” The document is printed in Potter’s edition of Clement, pp. 966–989. It is a miscellaneous collection from the writings of Theosophic Gnostics, comes to us in its present shape from the hand of a Catholic Christian, and no longer affords the means of determining in all cases the authorships of

"The Saviour as he descended was seen by the angels [of the Middle Space through which he passed *]; on which account they proclaimed the glad tidings of him (Luke ii. 13, 14).

"But he was also seen by Abraham and the other Just † Men who were at rest in the right hand ‡ [i. e. in the heavens of the Jewish God], for Christ said (John viii. 56) " *he rejoiced when he saw my day,* ' that is, the day of my advent in the flesh. || Whence the Lord on rising again (or at his resurrection, *ἀναστὰς*) preached the Gospel to the

the respective passages, or the schools to which they belong. Perhaps Theodotus, a Gnostic, may have prepared a collection with comments, from which this may be a selection with further comments by a Catholic. Both parts of the citation in the text are from a Gnostic, if not from the same hand, for the one affirms and the other assumes a visible descent of the Saviour.

According to the *Philosophumena*, a work of the third century erroneously ascribed to Origen, the Valentinians were divided concerning the body of Jesus into "Eastern Teaching" and "Italian Teaching." The latter, to which Heracleon and Ptolemy belonged, regarded the body of Jesus as of the same material with man's rational soul. The former, of which were Axionicus and Ardesianes, regarded his body as spiritual. See p. 195, Miller's edition. In the document called Eastern Teaching, however, are views apparently at variance with these attributed to Axionicus and Ardesianes.

* The explanation in brackets is from Irenæus, III. 10. 4 (III. 11).

† Just Men may here mean the Spiritual. The Valentinians regarded Achamoth or Wisdom as having inserted a spiritual seed into many of the Old Testament worthies. The Creator was ignorant as to the cause of their excellence, but was prompted by it to make them his prophets, &c.

‡ Δεξιὰ, the neuter plural of right hand, was used by the Valentinians to designate the heavenly places or persons of the Jewish Deity's creation, and ἀριστερά, or left hand, to designate the earthly. Irenæus, I. 5. 1 and 2; I. 6. 1; II. 24. 6; *Doctrina Orientalis*, c. 47, Clement. Opp. p. 980; *Eclogæ ex Script. Prophet.* c. 3, Ibid. p. 990; Theodoret, *Hæret. Fab.* I. 7. The same term was used by the author of the Clementine Homilies, Book II. c. 16.

|| Though the Valentinians believed Christ to be destitute of a physical

"Just who were at rest, and removed and transferred them. "And all will live in his shadow * [i. e. in the Middle "Space]. For the Saviour's presence there is the shadow "of his glory with his Father. And the shadow cast by light "is not darkness, but an enlightenment."†

There is still another passage of the New Testament, part of which, it would seem, was interpreted by the Valentinians — as the whole was by the Catholics — concerning Christ's mission to the departed. It is partly quoted in the *Doctrina Orientalis* ‡ as being used by the Valentinians, and though their interpretation of it is not given there, it is pretty plainly implied in the opposing statements of *Irenæus*. The passage is in Ephesians iv. 8 – 10 : —

"When he ascended up on high, he led captive the captives "and gave gifts unto men. — Now this, — 'He ascended,' — "what does it imply save that he also descended to the lowest "parts of the earth? He who descended is the same as he "who ascended ABOVE ALL THE HEAVENS."

Irenæus does not meddle with the expression "ABOVE all "the heavens," which a Valentinian could urge as indicating

body, they used the term flesh of the Logos, τὴν τοῦ Λόγου σάρκα. *Doctrina Orient.* c. 16, *Clem. Opp.* p. 972.

"The day of the Saviour's advent in the flesh" is here introduced controversially. The Catholics, on the other hand, in order to avoid the force of the argument deducible from the statement that Abraham *SAW* — not that he *FORESAW* — Christ's day, resorted to their position that Christ had been the special Deity of the Old Testament, the being who communicated with Abraham and Moses. Thus he *SAW* Christ's day. *Irenæus*, IV. 5. 2 and 3.

* A Valentinian term, as it would seem, for the Middle Space. *Irenæus*, I. 4. 1; compare II. 4. 3; II. 8.

† *Doctrina Orientalis*, c. 18, *Clement. Opp.* p. 973. — *Clement*, it may be remarked, quotes *Androcydes* as saying that "the so-called Ephesian "Letters . . . indicate that darkness is shadowless, since it cannot have "a shadow. But light is shadowy (or shadow-throwing), since it illumi- "nates the shadow." *Clement. Opp.* p. 672, lines 16 – 20.

‡ C. 43, p. 979.

a super-celestial place whereto Christ had ascended. Neither does he meet the argument that a Valentinian could have based on the logical sequence, since a descent to the underworld of the Catholics was no more logically implied in CHRIST'S ascent to heaven than in that of Enoch or Elijah, whereas, on the Valentinian hypothesis, Christ must have descended to this lower world — to the (as compared with his former residence) lower regions of this earth — before he could have ascended. Irenæus simply quotes passages from the Old and New Testament, to prove that Christ did literally descend to SUBTERRANEAN regions, and then exclaims, "If therefore the Lord - - - remained to the third day in '*the lower parts of the earth,*' how shall not they be confounded who say that the Lower Regions (Inferos) are THIS "WORLD OF OURS." *

The band of captives was by the Fathers usually understood to mean those whom Christ had released from imprisonment in the Underworld, and could equally by the Valentinians have been applied to those whom he carried to regions above.

Heracleon's views must be collected from his commentary on John's Gospel, or rather from the fragments of it preserved by Origen. A word or two of explanation, however, may be prerequisite to its comprehension by the common reader. An idea, not yet extinct, prevailed among the Early Christians, and especially among the Alexandrine Catholics and Gnostics, that the sacred records had more senses than one. Thus Origen, whilst receiving the simple history of the two blind men who were cured at Jericho, regarded the two as emblematic of Judah and Israel, both blind till they came to Christ; and since some of the Evangelists mentioned but one blind man, this implied that Judah and Israel were become one people.† Jerusalem, spiritually interpreted, meant, according

* Adv. Hæret. V. 31. 2. For the Manichæan interpretation of this passage, see Routh's Reliq. Sac., Vol. V. p. 52.

† Comment. in Matt., Tom. XVI. 12, Opp. Vol. III. p. 732. D.

to Origen, Paradise or Heaven ; Jericho meant this earth ;* Egypt, this world,† and apparently also the Underworld.‡

According to Heracleon,|| Capernaum, allegorically interpreted, meant "these material or extreme parts of the world." Jerusalem represented the "Psychical place" or place of souls, — under the Creator's dispensation as it would seem, — and located probably in the seventh heaven, since by the same term he elsewhere designates the Creator,¶ who dwelt in the seventh heaven. The outer court of the temple symbolized "the Assembly of the Psychical who were "SAVED, outside of the Pleroma," i. e. in the Middle Space. The Holy of Holies, Origen understood him to regard as typifying the Pleroma.

* The man who descended from Jerusalem to Jericho meant Adam or man in general, who descended from heaven to this earth (compare Origen's views in the second division of § XXI.) and fell among thieves. Comment in Matt., Tom. XVI. 9, Vol. III. p. 728. C. D.

† In Genes. Homil. XV. 5, Vol. II. p. 101, Col. 1. F.

‡ Origen, after quoting Gen. xlv. 3, 4, "*Fear not to descend into Egypt : - - - I will descend with you into Egypt and will finally recall you thence,*" remarks : "He was not finally recalled from Egypt, since he died there. For it would be absurd for any one to treat Jacob as recalled by God "because his body was brought back, according to which interpretation "it would be untrue that '*God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.*' "It is not suitable, therefore, that this should be understood of a dead "body, but it should be found correct of the living, and flourishing. - - - "The statement, '*I will finally recall you thence,*' means, I think, as I have "above said, that at the end of the ages his only-begotten Son, for the "salvation of the world, descended even to the lower regions, and thence "recalled the first man." In Gen. Homil. XV. 5, Vol. II. p. 101. According to a portion of the context, omitted for brevity's sake, the passage may be spiritually understood either of Christ descending to this world, or of Adam ejected from Paradise.

|| Origen's citations from Heracleon are collected at the close of Masquet's Irenæus, where the above passages will, with one exception, be found on pp. 365, 366.

¶ Ibid. p. 368. — Ptolemy, unless Irenæus misunderstood him, used this term to designate Wisdom, who dwelt in the Middle Space. Iren. cont. Hæres. I. 5. 3.

Christ's descent to Capernaum, spiritually interpreted, meant, according to Heracleon, his descent to these extreme parts of the world. His ascent to Jerusalem meant the ascent to the place of souls. The whip of small cords wherewith the buyers and sellers were ejected from the outer court was emblematic of the powers of the Holy Spirit; and its wooden handle, of Christ's cross, whereby "the Assembly" — i. e. the Catholics or merely psychical — were purified from every thing wicked, and rendered no longer a den of thieves, but the house of God.

There may be obscurity as to some portions of Heracleon's allegory, but it is pretty evident that he regarded the ascending Saviour as first visiting the "place of souls" under the Creator's dispensation.

If a word of conjecture be allowed me, the Valentinians had merely interpreted the ordinary Catholic ideas of Christ's Underworld mission in what they deemed an exalted manner. The Pleroma was the world of light, the Middle Space that of shadow, this Underworld where we dwell, the region of darkness.* They may have termed it Hades, for one etymology of Hades (*ᾠδης*) implied a place without light, and the word *Inferi* above quoted from the Latin translation of Irenæus is elsewhere the rendering in that writer of the word Hades.

* In the *Doctrina Orientalis*, c. 37, is a statement of Valentinian opinions, to be quoted in a note under § XXII. 6, which identifies the "creation" or world "of darkness" with the "left-hand places," that is, with this earthly world.

Plato seems to have anticipated the Valentinians in comparing this world to the lower regions. He is quoted by Clement of Alexandria as having said, "Good souls, leaving the super-celestial place, endure to come into this Tartarus." Clem. Opp. p. 355, lines 20-22. And the "Ascension of Isaiah" is equally decided as to the comparative darkness of this world. The pseudo-prophet, after describing the brilliancy of the sixth heaven, exclaims, "Wherefore be assured, O Hezekiah, Josheb, my son, and Micah, that great darkness is here, darkness indeed great." Ch. viii. 24.

By the Underworld they understood, according to the passage already quoted from Irenæus, "this world of ours," which, by comparing it with the same expression elsewhere, would seem to mean what was below the firmament and subject to the Cosmocrator* or World-ruler, that is, the Devil, who in Catholic theology was Lord of the Underworld; — a conception to be developed under § XIV.

Yet it is probable that they sometimes extended their idea of this Underworld so as to include the whole material creation of the Jewish Deity; both his heavens and earth. In fact, as it was only by ascending to the Middle Space that the region of twilight, or shadow, was attained, the conclusion would seem inevitable that the realms below were those of darkness, and in the *Doctrina Orientalis* we find the Middle Space, Ὀγδοάδα, contrasted, as the region of life, with the world (this Underworld), the region of death.†

§ V. MANICHÆANS.

THE Manichæans, so called from their leader, Manes, arose in the latter half of the third century. Perhaps the document entitled "Discussion of Archelaus with Manes," from which an extract will be found under § XIV., may belong to the close of the same century. So far, however, as concerns any of their opinions directly bearing upon Christ's mission, or aid, to the departed, we must have recourse to documents of the fourth century, and the reader must make allowance for any change which he supposes that their views may have undergone, subsequently to the period under discussion.

The Manichæans had mingled Persian theology with Chris-

* Iren. cont. Hæres. I. 5. 4 (I. 1). Compare also the statement in the preceding note from the *Doct. Orient.* c. 37.

† C. 80, p. 987.

tianity. They believed in two Principles or Beings, a good and an evil one, and in two abodes for men, a place of light or happiness, and one of darkness or misery. The departed who were rescued by Christ must, on their theory, be delivered, not from such an abode as the good might have temporarily occupied, but from hell, or Tartarus.* The following extract is from the words of Faustus as given in Augustine's work, "Against Faustus the Manichæan," the especial subject of consideration being the Saviour's words, "*Many shall come from the east and west, and recline with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of the heavens.*" (Matt. viii. 11.)

"Grant," says Faustus, "that they (Abraham and the Patriarchs) are now in the kingdom of the heavens, — that they are in that place in which they had no belief and for which they never hoped, as is evident from their books. Yet what is written concerning them is confirmed even by your confession, that, liberated after a long interval by Christ our Lord — namely by his mystical† suffering — from the dark and penal custody of the Lower Regions, whither the deserts of their life coerced them, they attained to this place, if indeed they have attained to it. - - -

"But Luke, although he regarded this [narrative of the centurion] as a memorable event, and necessary to be inserted among the wonderful deeds of Christ in his Gospel, yet makes no mention there of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. - - - But you may see that, as I say, I shall not be

* Augustine, who for a time was himself a Manichæan, seems to have agreed with his former associates on this point. "I have nowhere found," he says, "that the resting-place of JUST SOULS is called the Underworld (Inferos)," and he appears to have been embarrassed by this belief. See the foregoing, and a number of other citations from his writings, collected in Pearson's work on the Creed, Art. V. pp. 362, 364, 365 (edit. New York, 1844).

† The Manichæans did not believe the REAL suffering of Christ.



“over contentious with you concerning this passage, since
 “the defence which I before established — and which you
 “cannot deny — is sufficient, that before the advent of our
 “Lord all the Patriarchs and Prophets of Israel lay in Tar-
 “tarian darkness according to their deserts, whence, if ever
 “liberated, they were brought back to the light by Christ.”*

The confession above referred to is elsewhere dealt with as follows. Faustus attributes to his opponents, the Catholics, — and without denial from Augustine, — the limitation to the Jews of Christ's favor towards the departed, on the ground that the Gentiles worshipped idols, and the Jews the omnipotent God. “So,” says Faustus, “the worship of (your) omnipotent God [equally with idol worship] sends people to Tartarus, and they who worshipped the Father need the aid of the Son.”†

§ VI. UNDERWORLD MISSION THE OBJECT OF
 CHRIST'S DEATH.

THE early Christians desired to find some dignified and striking object for Christ's death, which they might urge against the Jews and Gentiles, and wherewith they might dazzle their own minds, and the mission among the departed was seized upon as this object. The thought does not seem to have suggested itself, that he could have performed such a mission without dying.

Irenaeus tells us: “Others, however, [by] saying, ‘*The Holy Lord remembered his dead who were already fallen asleep in the earth, and descended to them, that he might raise (uti erigeret) for the purpose of saving them,*’—

* Augustine cont. Faust. XXXIII. 1, 2, 3, Vol. VI. p. 106. E. H. K.

† Ibid. G.

‡ Possibly a translation of *ὅτι ἀναστῆναι*.

“have assigned THE REASON WHY HE SUFFERED THESE THINGS.”* And again: the Saviour, “coming the second time [to his disciples who were asleep in the garden], aroused and raised them, signifying that HIS SUFFERING WAS THE (MEANS OF) AWAKENING HIS SLEEPING DISCIPLES, on whose account also he ‘*descended into the lower parts of the earth.*’”† And again: “When the Lord was about TO SUFFER FOR THIS PURPOSE, — THAT HE MIGHT ANNOUNCE THE GLAD TIDINGS TO ABRAHAM AND TO THOSE WHO WERE WITH HIM, OF THE OPENING OF THE INHERITANCE”; or perhaps the translation should be as follows, “And on this account the Lord, — when about TO SUFFER, THAT HE MIGHT ANNOUNCE THE GLAD TIDINGS TO ABRAHAM AND TO THOSE WHO WERE WITH HIM OF THE OPENING OF THE INHERITANCE, — when he had given thanks, said to his disciples,” &c.‡

Some of the connection, which for brevity’s sake is omitted, renders it additionally probable that the last citation is an imitation of the following passage in the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas: “Learn, therefore, how he endured to suffer this at the hands of men. . . . He — since it behooved him to appear in the flesh, that he might destroy [or empty, *vacuam faceret*] death, and manifest the resurrection from the dead — ENDURED THAT HE MIGHT RENDER TO THE FATHERS WHAT HAD BEEN PROMISED THEM.”||

Clement, treating liberation from the Underworld as the necessary consequence of accepting Christ’s teachings, assumes, we have already seen, as a conceded point, that “THE SOLE CAUSE OF THE LORD’S DESCENT TO THE UNDERWORLD WAS TO PREACH THE GOSPEL.”¶

* Cont. Hæres. V. 33. 12.

† Ibid. IV. 22. 1 (IV. 39).

‡ Ibid. V. 33. 1.

|| C. 5 (iv. 10).

¶ See § III. 2. The Saviour’s death and descent to the Underworld

Origen, treating a passage of the Psalms as if prophetically spoken in the person of the Saviour, exclaims: "There is nothing wonderful, therefore, in even the Saviour saying, '*I went to sleep and slept,*' since he effected so much more for the salvation of souls during the time of his separation from the body." * And in his work against Celsus the Heathen, he quotes from Paul (Rom. xiv. 9): "'*On this account Christ died and rose again, — that he might be the Lord both of the dead and living*'"; and adds, "You see in this that Jesus died IN ORDER THAT HE MIGHT BE LORD OF THE DEAD, and rose again in order that he might be Lord, not of the dead only, but also of the living. And the Apostle, by the dead over whom Christ should be Lord, understood those who are thus mentioned in the First Epistle to the Corinthians (xv. 52): '*The trumpet shall sound and the dead shall be raised incorruptible.*'" †

Elsewhere in answering persons who deemed Samuel too good for the Underworld, Origen says: "Was (Christ) no longer the Son of God when — he was in the regions under the earth, '*that every knee might bend at the name of Jesus Christ, of those in heaven, and on the earth, and of those UNDER THE EARTH.*'" ‡ And in the same Homily Origen, addressing his congregation, asks, "Why should you fear to say that EVERY place has need of Jesus Christ?" ||

Even Tertullian, who — in his zeal to force upon Christians his theological peculiarity, that the Underworld was still their doom — does not shrink from the position that Christ's death and abode in the Underworld were the necessary con-

were so identified by Early Christians as both belonging to the history of his humiliation, that Clement in assigning the reason for the one, no doubt, considered himself as equally assigning the reason for the other.

* Comment. in Ps. iii. 6 (iii. 5), Vol. II. p. 553. C. D.

† Cont. Celsum, II. 65, Vol. I. p. 436. E.

‡ In Lib. Regum Hom. II. Vol. II. p. 496. E. Comp. Philip. ii. 10.

|| Ibid. p. 495.

sequences of his human nature,* even Tertullian seems obliged in the same passage to soften or cover his position by saying, "He did not ascend the heights of heaven before he " *'descended to the lower parts of the earth,'* THAT THERE HE " MIGHT MAKE THE PATRIARCHS AND PROPHETS PARTICIPATORS " OF HIMSELF." †

The author of the *Discussion between Archelans and Manes* goes farther than others. "My Lord Jesus Christ," he says, "saw fit to come in a HUMAN body [i. e. in one " which gained him admission to the Underworld; see " § XVII.] that he might 'vindicate,' ‡ not himself, but Moses " and those who in succession after him had been oppressed " by the violence of Death." By an examination of the passage as more fully cited under § XIV., it would seem that he treated this, not alone as the object of the Saviour's death, but of his coming.

To the above should be added a passage of *Justin Martyr*, and another from *Cyprian*, which will be found in the sixteenth section, and which, to avoid repetition, are here omitted.

* "By the public opinion of the whole human race, we pronounce death " A DEBT DUE TO NATURE. This the voice of God has stipulated; this " every born thing has accorded, - - - which (the God of Jacob) exacted " even from his Messiah. - - - Enoch and Elijah were translated, - - - but they " are reserved to die, that they may extinguish Antichrist with their " blood." *De Anima*, c. 50, p. 349. B. D. The last idea seems to be founded on the eleventh chapter of the Apocalypse. Again: "Though " Christ was divine (*deus*), yet, because he was also man, being dead and " buried according to the Scriptures, he also satisfied the law [of nature], " by going through the form of human death in the Underworld." *Ibid.* c. 55, p. 353. B.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Compare the use of this apparently technical expression by *Arnobius*, in § XXII. 3.

§ VII. CONTROVERSY WITH THE HEATHENS.

Of the Heathen works against Christianity during the first three centuries, a few fragments only remain ; among which, the quotations from Celsus preserved in Origen's reply to him, are the chief. One of these quotations evinces that the Christians, in their intercourse or debates with the Pagans, had given a prominence to the doctrine of Christ's mission below, which was met by ridicule.

Celsus says : " You of course do not confess touching him [Christ], that, having failed to convince men here, he betook himself to the Underworld to convince those there." *

To the foregoing, **Origen** replies with some warmth : " We will, however, say this, though (Celsus) may not like it, that while in the body he convinced not a few [only], but so many that, on account of the multitude of believers, a plot was laid against him, and [then] with a soul divested of its body he discoursed to souls divested of their bodies, converting to himself such as were willing, or those whom for reasons (*λόγους*) known to himself he recognized as disposed to improvement." †

At a later period than the above, **Arnobius** wrote against the Heathens. Of one passage in his work, Christ's mission to the departed affords the only natural explanation. The Heathens are represented as asking, " If Christ was sent by God that he might free unhappy souls from destruction, what have former generations deserved (i. e. if without Christ all perish, what destruction have they not laid up for themselves), who by the condition of mortality passed away before his advent ? " Arnobius answers, " Can you know what has been done to the souls of former times ? Whether to them also, by some method determined on, and foreseen,

* Cont. Celsum, II. 43, Vol. I. p. 419. C.

† Ibid. C. D.

“ assistance has been given? Can you, I say, know that
 “ which could be known IF CHRIST WERE YOUR TEACHER, - - -
 “ whether they would have been permitted to die unless
 “ Christ at a fixed time had come to their assistance as a pre-
 “ server? Lay aside these cares and dismiss questions which
 “ you do not understand. To them also royal mercy HAS
 “ BEEN imparted, and the divine benefits have equally flowed
 “ on all. THEY HAVE BEEN PRESERVED. THEY HAVE BEEN
 “ LIBERATED, and have laid aside the lot and condition of
 “ Mortality.” *

The Heathen, it appears, could learn touching Christ's aid to the departed by becoming Christians, — “ if Christ were their teacher,” — why not sooner? Arnobius was less prone than some of the early apologists to mingle a variety of doctrines with the main points at issue between Christians and Pagans, and herein he showed his judgment. Perhaps in the present case he was only adhering to his custom. Or perhaps Heathen ridicule had induced Christians to place the doctrine of Christ's Underworld mission — however satisfactory to themselves — in the category of those teachings which they developed only to the converted.

§ VIII. THE UNDERWORLD MISSION FORETOLD.

MANY passages of the Old Testament were supposed by the early Fathers to predict the Saviour's descent and mission in the Underworld, and exercised, no doubt, much influence in giving the latter doctrine its currency. A portion of them, therefore, are subjoined, chiefly from Origen, who is the only writer of the second or third century that has left us commentaries to any extent on Scripture.

* Adv. Gentes, II. 63. On the subject of Mortality, its lot and condition, see Appendix, Note B.

Origen speaks of the Underworld or its ruler as "that (Death) concerning which it is written in a prophet who speaks as in the person of the Lord (*Hosea* xiii. 14), 'I will take them out of the grasp of the Underworld, and will liberate them from Death.' " *

"Hear the Prophet's statement (*Hosea* vi. 2): 'The Lord will resuscitate us after two days, and on the third day we shall rise again, and shall live in his presence.' " †

"MANY BODIES OF THE SLEEPING SAINTS AROSE WITH HIM, AND ENTERED INTO THE HOLY CITY' [the heavenly Jerusalem], whereby the words of the Prophet are accomplished in which he says of Christ (*Psa.* lxxiii. 18), 'Ascending on high he led captive the captives,' and in this manner by his resurrection he destroyed the kingdoms of Death out of which it is written that he liberated the captives." ‡

"(Ps. vi. 4, 5), 'Turn, Lord. Free my soul. Save me for thy mercy's sake; since in death no one can remember thee. In the Underworld who shall confess thee?' And (David) not only beseeches the Lord himself to free his soul from Death, but prophetically manifests that he had obtained his petition by saying (*Psa.* vi. 9), 'The Lord listened to the voice of my lamentation. The Lord listened to my supplication. The Lord accepted my prayer.' For by these words he shadowed forth his resuscitation from death which took place after the resurrection of Christ." ||

"(*Psa.* lxxi. 20.) 'How many sore afflictions did you dispense to me? Yet, turning, you made me alive and brought me up from the abysses of the earth.' These things are manifestly spoken concerning the resurrection from the dead." ¶

* Origen, Comment. in Rom., Lib. V. 1, Vol. IV. p. 551. A.

† Idem, Hom. in Exod., Lib. V. 2, Vol. II. p. 144. F.

‡ Idem in Rom. Lib. V. 1, Vol. IV. p. 551. B. C. Compare Justin's interpretation of this passage in a note to § XIX.

|| Idem in Psalmos, Vol. II. p. 517. B. C.

¶ Ibid. p. 760. E.

(Ps. lxxvii. 16.) “‘*The Abysses were troubled.*’ The “Abysses mean the Infernal Powers [the powers of the “Abyss], which were troubled at the presence of Christ.” *

“David also, prophesying concerning him, said (Ps. lxxvi. “13), ‘*You have drawn my soul out of the depths of the* “‘*Underworld*’ — *ex inferno inferiori.*” †

(Ps. xxii. 4, 5.) “‘*Our fathers hoped on thee; they hoped* “‘*and thou didst liberate them, they cried to thee and were* “‘*not disappointed.*’” ‡ The connection of this citation will be found under the next head.

(Ps. iii. 6.) “‘*I went to sleep and slept. I awoke again* “‘*because the Lord espoused my cause.*’ We indeed think “that these words have nothing human [in their application, “nor any thing] appropriate to the history of David when he “fled from the face of Absalom, - - - and what wonder if “such a sleep on the part of the Saviour were not wholly an “idleness of the soul, but an idleness as regards the use of “its organ, the body? - - - There is nothing wonderful, there- “fore, in even the Saviour saying, ‘*I went to sleep and slept,*’ “since he effected so much more for the salvation of souls “during the time of his separation from the body, according “to what is said in the Catholic Epistle of Peter. [Here “Origen quotes 1 Pet. iii. 19.] After this sleep his Father, “espousing his cause, awoke him (or raised him up).” ||

“We must inquire also into those things which the Saviour “says through the mouth of the Prophet David that he experi- “enced (Ps. lxxxviii. 4, 5), ‘*I became as an unassisted* “‘*man, free among the dead.*’” ¶

* Ibid. p. 770. B.

† Irenæus, V. 31. 1.

‡ Justin, Dial. cc. 100, 101, p. 196. A. B.

|| Origen, Vol. II. p. 551. D. E, and p. 553. B. C. D. Justin in his Dialogue with the Jew (c. 97, p. 193. B), Clement of Alexandria (p. 712, lines 25, 26), and Cyprian (Testimon. II. 24, p. 47) quote the same passage as a prophecy of the Lord's resurrection.

¶ Idem, Vol. IV. p. 35. C.

“‘NO ONE TAKES MY LIFE, BUT I LAY IT DOWN OF MYSELF.’
 “This neither Moses nor any one of the Patriarchs or Proph-
 “ets, nor yet of the Apostles, said, - - - since the lives of
 “all men are taken from them. This being considered, the
 “passage in the eighty-seventh [eighty-eighth] Psalm will
 “become clear, which is spoken as in the person of the Sav-
 “iour, ‘*Free among the dead.*’” *

“By him you pronounce Death conquered, who not only
 “laid down his life of his own will, but resumed it by his
 “power; who alone was ‘*free among the dead,*’ and whom
 “alone Death could not hold.” †

Ps. xviii. 5. “‘*The pangs of the Underworld encircled me,
 “the snares of Death were upon me.*’ Christ in his human
 “nature says these things. - - - Yet he never became a son
 “of the Underworld.” ‡

Ps. xlix. 14. “‘*As sheep they were placed in the Under-
 “world. Death was their Shepherd (or Ruler).*’ - - - But
 “manifestly the same person who says (Ps. xvi. 10), ‘*Thou
 “wilt not leave my soul in the Underworld,*’ says also this
 “(Ps. xlix. 15), ‘*But God will ransom my soul [from the
 “grasp of the Underworld, when he assumes my cause].*’” ||

Is. xlv. 1, 2. “‘*Thus saith the Lord God to his Christ
 “(or anointed), Cyrus, - - - I will beat down the brazen gates
 “and break the iron bars.*” Ps. cvii. 10, 14, 16. “‘*Such as
 “sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, bound in afflic-
 “tion and iron. - - - He brought them out of darkness and
 “the shadow of death, - - - for he crushed the brazen gates
 “and broke the iron bars.*” Tertullian, alluding to one or
 both of these passages, speaks of that period in Christ’s ex-
 “istence “which broke in the adamantine gates of Death, and

* Ibid. p. 298. C.

† Ibid. p. 566. C. Compare extract from Origen in § XVIII. 3.

‡ Idem, Vol. II. p. 605. C. E.

|| Ibid. p. 720. E.

"the brazen bars of the Underworld";* a conception which is amplified in the account of Christ's descent, that was appended by a later hand to the Acts of Pilate.† Heathen phraseology ‡ concerning the gates of Tartarus, and perhaps of the Underworld, could readily suggest such an application of the passages, nor would Christian modes of interpretation have rendered it difficult to regard Cyrus as a type of Christ.

In the Ascension of Isaiah, the Pseudo Prophet says: "With respect to the descent of the Beloved into hell (the Underworld), behold, it is written in the section [of my public prophecies] in which the Lord says, 'Lo! my Son shall be endowed with wisdom.'"|| The section intended may either be ls. xlii. 1-7, to the use of which by the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas the reader will immediately be referred, or xi. 2, 11, which last-mentioned verse might be allegorically understood as meaning a restoration from the Underworld,¶ or lii. 13-liii. 12, a passage commonly interpreted of Christ's suffering and death, and therefore regarded as implying his descent to the Underworld.

Origen's interpretation of the twenty-second Psalm, which will be found in the fifteenth section, to avoid repetition, is omitted here, as also his interpretation of Gen. xvi. 3, 4, al-

* Tertul. de. Resurrect. Carnis, c. 44, p. 412. B. See also the similar interpretation of Origen, In Cant. Cant., Hom. II. 12, Opp., Vol. III. p. 22. C.

† See Appendix, Note D.

‡ The Iliad assigns "iron gates, and brazen sills," or perhaps "brazen door-posts," to Tartarus, Book VIII. 15. The Æneid represents the access to the same as through an "immense gate" with "columns of solid adamant, so that no strength of men, nor even the inhabitants of heaven, could destroy it." Book VI. 551-553. Tertullian's language, or perhaps the Latin translation of the Old Testament, which he used, may have been accommodated to the phraseology which Virgil had rendered familiar.

|| Ascension of Isaiah, c. iv. 21.

¶ Compare it with Origen's interpretation of Jacob's recall from Egypt, p. 25.

ready given in a note on p. 25, and the reader may wish to examine a quotation by Barnabas in § XIX. Other passages might be adduced, but I believe that the above are the most striking. The reader will probably think that their appositeness to a supposed event was mistaken for a prediction of it. The tendency to such mistakes has not yet passed away.

There was, besides the above, a spurious passage of the Old Testament which claims attention here. Justin quotes it from Jeremiah, as will appear in the next section. Irenæus quotes it at one time from Isaiah, at another from Jeremiah, at another from "a prophet," and at another so as not even to imply necessarily that it belonged to the Old Testament. His quotations are as follows: "**Isaiah** says, '*The Holy Lord of Israel remembered his dead who had fallen asleep under the earth of burial, and descended to them to preach the salvation which is from him, and that he might save them.*'" * And again: "As **Jeremiah** says, '*The Holy Lord of Israel remembered again his dead who had already fallen asleep in the earth of burial, and descended to them that he might preach his salvation to them for the purpose of saving them.*'" † Elsewhere the citation concludes, "*that he might DRAW THEM OUT* (uti erueret eos) *and save them,*" ‡ and again, "*that he might RAISE* (uti erigeret) *for the purpose of saving them.*" || And again: "*The Lord remembered his dead SAINTS who had already fallen asleep in the earth of burial, and descended to them TO DRAW THEM OUT* (extrahere eos) *and to save them.*" ¶

The foregoing unquestionably did not belong to the Old Testament, though Justin charges its erasure on the Jews. It may have been an outright forgery; or perhaps it was an explanatory note on some passage of the Septuagint, which a Christian, over confident of its correctness, had interpolated

* Cont. Hæres. III. 20. 4 (III. 23).

† Ibid. IV. 22. 1. (IV. 39).

‡ Ibid. IV. 33. 1. (IV. 53).

¶ Ibid. V. 31. 1.

|| Ibid. IV. 33. 12 (IV. 65 or 66).

into the text, or which, without thought of interpolation, had been placed in the margin. In this latter case copyists may have been unable, as sometimes happened, to distinguish between its claims and those of such passages as had been placed in the margin because accidentally omitted in the text. Justin and Irenæus alone quote it. Probably its spuriousness was detected as soon as attention was directed to it.

§ IX. CONTROVERSY WITH THE JEWS.

It can be readily imagined, that the Christians would draw from the preceding storehouse of texts against any who would listen to Old Testament prophecies. Some evidence is extant of verbal controversies between the Early Christians and the Jews, though whether any of the latter committed their side of the question to writing we do not know. If they did, the last scrap of their works has perished. On the Christian side we have a work by Justin Martyr, being his own account of a dialogue, real or fictitious, between himself and a Jew; also a tract by Tertullian, — intended, as he says, to supply deficiencies in a late verbal controversy between a Christian and a Jewish proselyte, which, though it lasted the whole day, had been confused and rendered unsatisfactory by noisy interruptions from spectators of both parties, — and a collection of “Proof Texts” or “Testimonies” by Cyprian, arranged without argument under distinct heads. Casual expressions on the controverted points may also be found in other works of the Fathers.

Justin tells Trypho the Jew, “From the words of Jeremiah they (the Jews) have in like manner erased the following: ‘*The Lord God remembered his dead from among Israel, who had fallen asleep under the earth of the sepul-*

“ ‘*chre*, and descended to them that he might announce to
“ ‘*them his salvation.*’ ” *

On the probable origin of the foregoing I have already remarked in the preceding section. It differs as here cited from any quotation of it by Irenæus, though whether the difference be attributable to Justin or to an error in transcribing his works, may be a question. It was an object with Justin to show that even the Jews needed Christianity for their salvation, and as his *memoriter* citations of genuine passages are sometimes more apposite to his argument than the passages themselves if literally transcribed, the change in the present instance may be owing to the same cause.† He makes no comment on the passage, intending, as he says, to restrict himself to texts which his opponents admitted as genuine.

Proceeding with this intention, he expatiates with tedious diffuseness on the twenty-second Psalm, of which he says, “ I will show you that this whole Psalm was spoken of the ‘*Messiah*,’ ” ‡ and, according to his interpretation, it referred to his

* Dial. c. 72; p. 170. B. C.

† The Greek of the passage is somewhat barbarous, which would, however, be no great objection to the supposition that Justin had used it. At present, it reads, ‘*Εμνήσθη δὲ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτοῦ, τῶν κεκοιμημένων εἰς γῆν χόματος, καὶ κατέβη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀναγγελίσασθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ*, and I doubt whether it will admit a different translation from that above given, and which, it may be remarked, is adopted in the editions of Maran and Otto. Dr. Pott apparently understands it in the same way. See the *Novum Testamentum*, edit. Koppe, Vol. IX. Part. 2, p. 290.

Critics suggest that the abbreviation ΘΕΟΣ ΑΠΙΘ might be mistaken for ΘΕΟΣ ΑΠΘ, and that it originally read, “*The holy Lord God of Israel*,” &c.; and I would suggest, that, by reading ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ (instead of ἀπὸ) Ἰσραὴλ, — ‘*The Lord God of Israel remembered his dead*,’ &c., — the Greek would, at a small change, be improved. Neither change would make it accord with Irenæus, nor would either alteration, probably, be a correct one.

‡ Dial. c. 99, p. 194. C. D.

sufferings. The passage, "*not to my ignorance*,"* (which is found in the Septuagint instead of "*am not silent*," in the common version,) indicated the ignorance, not of Jesus, "but of those who, thinking that he was not the Messiah, supposed that they could kill him, and that he would remain like a common man in the Underworld."† Justin then finds in the third verse occasion for a digression on the names and human birth of Jesus, after which he says, "From her (Mary) was he born . . . through whom God overthrows the Serpent and the angels who resemble him, . . . and EFFECTS DELIVERANCE FROM DEATH TO SUCH AS repent of evil deeds and BELIEVE ON HIM. And the next portion of the Psalm, in which it is said [verses 4, 5], '*Our fathers hoped on Thee, they hoped and THOU DIDST LIBERATE THEM*; they cried to Thee and were not disappointed,' . . . manifests that those fathers also CONFESSED HIM who had hoped on and were saved by God, . . . he himself indicating that he was to be saved by the same God, and not boasting that he could do any thing by his own counsel or strength. For UPON EARTH HE DID THE SAME. . . . He answered, '*Why do you call me good? One is good; my Father in heaven.*'"‡

The argument is based on Justin's affirmation that through Christ God effects deliverance from death — that is, from the Underworld, whither the fathers had gone — to such as believe on him. The Psalm says that God did liberate the fathers. But since Christ is the medium of liberation only for such as BELIEVE ON HIM, it follows that the fathers must have "confessed him." The terms for confession, *ὁμολογεῖν* as used here, and *ἐξομολογεῖν* as used by Clement of Alexandria || touching the confession by the Gentiles in the Underworld, are merely weaker and stronger forms of the same

* Verse 2, or, in the Septuagint, xxi. 3.

† Dial. c. 99, p. 195. A.

‡ Ibid. cc. 100, 101, p. 196. A. B.

|| Strom. VI. 6, p. 764, line 3, quoted in § III. 2.

word. That Justin was thinking of events in the Underworld is evident from his remark, that "UPON EARTH" Jesus showed the same humility. To discern the humility, we must understand the Psalm, as did Justin, to be spoken by the Saviour, and he is thus made to attribute to God a liberation of which he was himself the active agent. "ΤΗΟΥ," he says, "didst liberate them." Justin had already put into his mouth other passages which indicated that he looked to God for his own deliverance.* To be "saved" seems here, as in the passage of Clement already alluded to, to mean deliverance from the Underworld. The fathers of course were not, in Justin's opinion, liberated from physical death.

That Justin, according to a conception which will be presented in §§ XIV. - XVIII., may have included in the idea of deliverance from death, that of deliverance from Satan, Lord of the Underworld, is not improbable; for after interpreting the roaring lion (verse 13) to mean Herod, he says, "Or else by the lion that roared upon him he meant the Devil."† "And the request (verses 20, 21) that his soul should be saved from the sword, the mouth of the lion, and the grasp of the dog, was a petition that no one might lord it over his soul, even as we, at departure from life, beseech God who is able to turn aside every wicked, ruthless angel, that he shall not seize our soul."‡

The alleged fact, that God through Jesus delivered men

* "He rose the third day. This was thus expressed by David (Ps. iii. 5, 6): '*I cried to the Lord with my voice, and he hearkened to me from his holy mountain. I went to sleep and slept. I awoke because the Lord espoused my cause.*'" Dial. c. 97, p. 193. B. In another passage Justin gives some prominence to the fact that the Saviour looked to God for his own deliverance. "If," says he, "the Son of God affirmed that he could be saved neither because of his being Son nor on account of his strength nor wisdom, but that, though sinless, - - he could not be saved without God, how do you not think that you and others - - deceive yourselves?" Ibid. c. 102, p. 192. D. E.

† Dial. c. 103, p. 198. D.

‡ Ibid. c. 105, p. 200. B.

from death, Justin does not attempt to prove. Perhaps he regarded it as implied in his Messiahship, and consequently in any evidence which established his Messiahship. Neither does he attempt in this connection to prove that Christianity was a protection after death* from evil spirits, though he argues that Judaism was not.†

Irenaeus speaks of the Jews as "not knowing nor wish-

* Justin, in other passages, more than once assumes that in this life Christ's name gave power over dæmons. "We," says he, "call him "Helper and Ransomer, at the power of whose name the dæmons tremble, and to-day, if exorcised in the name of Jesus Christ who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, Procurator of Judea, they are rendered obedient; so that from this it is manifest to all, that his Father gave him so much power that the dæmons are subject to his name and to the "Economy" of his suffering." Dial. c. 30, p. 128. A.

† According to views which some of the Jews, no doubt, shared with the Christians, a soul's evocation from the Underworld must be effected by the aid of a dæmon. Justin, proceeding on this supposition, continues his argument, if it can so be termed, from the point at which it is interrupted in the text. "And that souls continue to exist, I showed you (in c. 5, p. 107. D). And from the soul of Samuel being called up by the ventriloquist at the request of Saul, it is manifest that all the souls of those who were thus [that is, without Christianity] Just and Prophets, fell under the dominion of such powers [i. e. evil spirits], - - - whence also God teaches us to strain every nerve that we may become "righteous [*δικαίους*, my own emendation of an unmeaning *δι' οὗς*] "THROUGH HIS SON, and to petition at the close of life that our souls "may not fall under the control of any such spirit." Dial. c. 105, p. 200. B. C.

An idea analogous to this of Justin, that insufficient righteousness left the soul subject after death to an evil spirit, appears in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and, as I think, from a Jewish hand. "When a "troubled soul departs, it is tormented by the evil spirit which it served "[here] through its desires and wicked works." X. (Asher) 6, *Grabe Spicileg.*, Vol. I. p. 228. The author of the Clementine Homilies philosophizes on this subjection to an evil spirit at death. Hom. IX. 9. The Valentinians also held that "whoever is sealed with the name of (or "through, *διὰ*) the Father, Son, and Spirit is exempt from seizure (*ἀνεπί-ληπτος*) by every other power." Doct. Orient. c. 80, p. 987.

“ing to understand that all the Prophets announced two com-
 “ings of Christ ; one, indeed, in which” — after some other
 alleged fulfilments of prophecy — “*he remembered again*
 “*his dead who had already fallen asleep, and descended*
 “*to them, that he might draw them out and might save*
 “*them.*” *

Tertullian at one period in his life denied the liberation of
 the fathers, † though without questioning the fact that Christ
 had preached to them. At the date of his tract against the
 Jews, he would seem to have admitted it. Alluding evidently
 to the two passages from Hosea quoted at the beginning of
 the preceding section, and blending them together, he asks,
 “Why, after his resurrection from the dead, which occurred
 “on the third day, did the heavens receive him ? according
 “to the prophecy of Isaiah, uttered as follows : ‘*Before light†*
 “‘*they shall rise, saying to me, Let us go and return to the*
 “‘*Lord God, for he will take us out and will liberate us.*’
 “After two days, on the third day, which is his glorious res-
 “urrection, he betook himself from earth into the heavens.” ||

Elsewhere, ¶ however, he quotes the passage, mingling
 with it the words “*cure,*” “*heal,*” and “*pity*” from a pre-
 ceding verse, but omitting the word “*liberate,*” and changing
 “*he will take us out*” to “*he has taken us out,*” and explains
 it of the women, who came to the sepulchre expecting to be
 restored from their affliction by finding the Master risen.

Cyprian, among his heads, or positions to be proved
 against the Jews, states the two following, and subjoins, with
 other passages, those affixed here to each of them.

* Cont. Hæres. IV. 33. 1 (IV. 56).

† See the second part of § XII.

‡ The Latin translation, whence Tertullian no doubt quotes, had ren-
 dered literally, as it seems, an expression which meant to seek early, or
 hasten to.

|| Adv. Judæos, c. 13, p. 227. A.

¶ Adv. Marcion. IV. 43, p. 574. A.

XXIV. "THAT (CHRIST) SHOULD NOT BE CONQUERED BY DEATH NOR REMAIN IN THE UNDERWORLD." "In Psalm 29 [xxx. 3], '*O Lord, thou hast brought back my soul from the Underworld.*' Also in Psalm 15 [xvi. 10], '*Thou wilt not leave my soul in the Underworld, nor permit thy Holy One to see corruption.*' Also in Psalm 3 [iii. 5], '*I slept and took sleep, and rose again because the Lord aided me.*'"

XXV. "THAT HE SHOULD RISE AGAIN FROM THE UNDERWORLD ON THE THIRD DAY." "In Hosea [vi. 2], '*He will vivify us after two days; on the third day we shall rise again.*'" *

§ X. CHRIST NEEDED PRECURSORS BELOW.

ACCORDING to Origen, those who had predicted and prepared the way for Christ on earth went to the Underworld that they might perform the same office for him there; a solution of their descent thither, which does not, however, appear to have been entertained by others. The following is extracted from his second Homily on the First Book of Kings, by which must be understood the Book of Samuel, then so designated.

"Several things have been read. [Origen enumerates some.] Next to these was the celebrated account of the ventriloquist [i. e. witch of Endor] and Samuel. [1 Sam. xxviii. 8-19.] - - - What shall we say? These things have been written. Are they true or are they untrue? To say they are untrue leads to infidelity. It will fall on the heads of those who say it. But to affirm their truth occasions us inquiry and doubt. We know that some of our brethren

* Testimon. adv. Judæos, Lib. II. cc. 24, 25.

“deny the Scripture, and say, ‘I do not trust a ventriloquist.’
 “The ventriloquist professes to have seen Samuel. She lies.
 “Samuel was not brought up. . . . Those who treat the account as false, exclaim, ‘Samuel in the Underworld!’
 “‘Samuel brought up by a ventriloquist! The best of the
 “‘Prophets! Consecrated to God from his birth! . . . Samuel in the Underworld! — Samuel in the Lower Regions!
 “‘. . . He never received a heifer or an ox [as a bribe].
 “‘He judged and condemned The People and remained a
 “‘poor man. He never desired to receive any thing from
 “‘such a people. Why should Samuel be seen in the Underworld? Who followed him thither? — Samuel in the
 “‘Underworld! Why not Abraham and Isaac and Jacob
 “‘there also? Samuel in the Underworld! Why not
 “‘Moses too, who is coupled with him in the statement [Jer.
 “‘xv. 1.], *Not even if Moses and Samuel should stand before me* [petitioning for Israel], *would I hearken to them?*
 “‘Samuel in the Underworld! Why not Jeremiah also?’” *

To the above Origen replies: “He who does not wish to deny that Samuel was indeed the person raised, will say that Isaiah and Jeremiah and all the Prophets were in the Underworld. . . . We say, . . . It is the narrating voice [i. e. the Holy Spirit and not the witch] which says, ‘*The woman saw Samuel.*’” †

Then, after a page or more of other argument, he continues: “Let an answer be given to my questions. Who is greater, Samuel or Jesus Christ? Who is greater, the Prophets or Jesus Christ? Who is greater, Abraham or Jesus Christ?” And after assuming superiority as conceded to the latter, he goes on: “Was not Christ in the Underworld? Did not HE go there? Is not that true which is said in the Psalms, and which by the Apostles in their Acts is interpreted concerning the Saviour’s having descended to the Underworld?”

* Origen’s Opera, Vol. II. pp. 490–492.

† Ibid. p. 442.

“It is written [therein] that the passage in the fifteenth Psalm [xvi. 10] relates to him : ‘*Thou wilt not relinquish my soul to the Underworld, nor permit thy Holy One to see corruption.*’

“Then if it should be answered ‘[Ah, but] what was the purpose of Christ’s descent into the Underworld? Was it that he might conquer? Or was he to be conquered by death [as Abraham and the Prophets were on your supposition?] I would reply,] He did indeed descend to those regions, not as the slave of the powers there (*τῶν ἐκεί*), but to wrestle with them as their master (*ὡς δεσπότης παλαισῶν*), as we formerly stated when explaining the twenty-first Psalm.* - - - The Saviour went down that he might save. [But] did he go down there foretold by the Prophets or not? Here [on earth] certainly he was foretold by the Prophets. - - - Even Moses proclaims that he was to dwell among men. - - - But if Moses utters predictions concerning him here, would you not have him descend thither also that he might foretell Christ’s advent? - - - Did not the other Prophets [do the same]? Did not Samuel? What absurdity is there in physicians descending to the sick? - - - They were many physicians; but my Lord and Saviour is the Arch-physician, for the inward longing which cannot be healed by others, he heals. - - - Do not fear. Do not be amazed. Jesus went to the Underworld, and the Prophets before him, and they foretold the coming of Christ. - - - Why should you fear to say that every place has need of Christ? Does not he who needs Christ need the Prophets of Christ? For a man cannot have need of Christ, and no need of those who should prepare the way for his coming. And John,—than whom, according to the testimony of our Saviour himself, a greater had not been among those born of woman, - - - — do not fear to say that HE descended to

* See, under § XV. 2, Origen’s exposition of this (the 22d) Psalm.

“the Underworld, the herald of the Lord. . . . Since (εἰ) all [men] descended into the Underworld prior to Christ’s time, the prophets of Christ were his forerunners. Thus Samuel descended thither, not indeed simply [i. e. in his character of a man], but as a saint. For wherever the Holy One (ὁ ἅγιος) may be, there will be the saint (ὁ ἅγιος). . . . I say it boldly, therefore; the souls of those who slept needed the prophetic favor. . . . Before the coming of my Lord Jesus Christ, it was impossible for any one to pass by the tree of life; it was impossible to pass by the appointed guards of the way to it. Who could travel it? Who could cause any one to pass the flaming sword? * Samuel could not pass the flaming sword, nor could Abraham. . . . The Patriarchs, therefore, and Prophets, and all, awaited the coming of my Lord Jesus Christ, that he should open the way. . . . There is, therefore, no difficulty in the passage, but all things are wonderfully written, and are comprehended by all to whom the Deity shall reveal them.” †

Enoch and Elijah were regarded by the early Christians as having been translated ALIVE into Paradise. With the exception of the foregoing passage, and the forgery entitled “The Ascension of Isaiah,” I know no document by a Catholic Christian which extends, or which mentions Catholic Christians that extended, such an exemption from the Underworld before Christ’s time to ANY THAT HAD DIED.

Neither have I found in the second or third century any who shared Origen’s view that a preparation was requisite in the Underworld, as on earth, for Christ’s coming, unless it lurk

* According to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, God, in the renovation of the Jewish nation, would raise up a new priest. “And in his priesthood, all sin will come to an end, . . . and he will open the gates of Paradise, and will still the sword that threatened Adam, and will give to the saints to eat of the tree of life.” III. (Levi) 18. Grabe Spic., Vol. I. p. 172. This passage I suppose to be from a Jewish hand.

† Origenis Opera, Vol. II. pp. 494 – 498.

under the following singular misapplication of a passage by Cyprian. Among his proofs "THAT CHRIST SHOULD RISE AGAIN FROM THE UNDERWORLD ON THE THIRD DAY," he cites Exodus xix. 10, 11. "*The Lord said to Moses, Descend and testify to The People, and consecrate them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their clothing and be ready against the day after to-morrow. For on the third day the Lord will descend upon Mount Sinai.*" *

§ XI. THE PREACHING.

1. IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

Two passages in the First Epistle of Peter have been regarded as evidence of an opinion having existed already in the Apostolic age, and in the mind of an Apostle, that the Saviour preached in the Underworld to its tenants. The passages are as follows: —

1 Peter iii. 18–20. "*Christ once suffered for sins, — the just on account of the unjust, that he might lead us to God, being put to death as regarded the [mere] body, but rendered alive by the divine power, through (or by the support of) which he went and preached to the spirits in prison,† who were disobedient formerly, when the long-suffering of God in the days of Noah waited until the ark was prepared.*"

Ibid. iv. 5–7. (The Heathen) "*who shall render account to him that IS READY to judge the living and the dead. For to this end the Gospel was preached to the dead also, that [though] they may be condemned by men as regards*

* Testimon. adv. Judæos, II. 25.

† The Peschito Syriac, the earliest version, probably, of the New Testament, translates, according to Dr. Murdock's rendering of the same, "*He preached to those souls which were detained in Hades.*"

"*their life here (κατὰ ἀνθρώπων σαρκί), they may live by [the "decision of] God as regards their souls. The end of all "things IS AT HAND,*" &c.

That Peter believed his Master to have been in the Underworld would seem an unavoidable inference from his argument in Acts.* This being the case, it is not unnatural that the question should have arisen in his own mind, or been suggested by an inquirer, "What did the Master do there?" To such a query no answer apparently could have been devised more consonant than the above with the Master's life and spirit on earth. No weariness, trial, or disappointment had withheld him from his ministry here. Is it singular that the Apostle, who had witnessed this, should suppose that even in the Underworld he had not remitted his efforts to reclaim the erring? Unless, indeed, in the latter of the two passages, the term "dead," as twice used, have different significations, it would be difficult to interpret Peter's language otherwise than as meaning a ministry to the departed.

2. IN THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES.

In the second and third centuries, every branch and division of Christians, so far as their records enable us to judge,

* Ch. ii. 22-31. "*Men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, "a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, "which God did by him in your midst as you yourselves know, — him — you "put to death. Whom God raised up, having loosed the pangs of death, since "it was not possible that he should be held by them. For David saith with reference to him, — 'On this account my heart rejoiced and my tongue exulted, "— because thou wilt not leave my soul in the Underworld, nor permit thy "Holy One to see corruption.' — Men and brethren; let me speak boldly to you "concerning the Patriarch David, that he died and was buried; and his sepulchre is among us to the present day. But being a Prophet, and knowing that "God had sworn to him with an oath from the fruit of his loins to place [some "one] on his throne, [the words are here omitted which Griesbach rejects,] "he spoke by foreknowledge concerning the Messiah's resurrection, that he was "not left in the Underworld, neither did his flesh see corruption."*

believed that Christ preached to the departed; and this belief dates back to our earliest reliable sources of information in the former of these two centuries.

§ XII. THE LIBERATION.

1. IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

THREE passages in Apostolic writings were supposed by the Fathers to teach a liberation from the Underworld effected at Christ's resurrection. One of these (1 Peter iv. 5-7) has been already quoted in the preceding section. By recurring to it the reader will see, that, if it includes under the term "*live*" the idea of exemption from death or the Underworld, that exemption must be connected, not with Christ's resurrection, but with that resurrection and judgment of "living AND DEAD" which "IS READY," — with "the end of all things" which "is at hand." The preaching must be regarded as a preparation for a resurrection yet to come, not for one which, when the Apostle wrote, was already past.

The next is the passage *Matthew* xvii. 52, 53. "*And many bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep arose, and coming out of their sepulchres after his resurrection entered the holy city, and appeared to many.*"

According to Origen, it was into the "Heavenly Jerusalem" * that these saints entered, — into the "truly holy city, the Jerusalem over which Jesus had not wept." †

The natural meaning of the passage, in fact the only one which it will bear in its connection, is, that at the death, not at the resurrection, of Jesus, these sleeping saints arose, or awoke (*ἠγέρθη*), and that after his resurrection the fact of

* Comment in Rom., Lib. V. 10, Opp., Vol. IV. p. 568. A.

† Comment. in Matt., Lib. XII. 43, Opp., Vol. III. p. 566. A.

their having come to life was visibly demonstrated to many who saw them in Jerusalem. The former of these ideas contradicted the belief of the Fathers, that these saints did not leave the Underworld until the Lord's resurrection. The latter contradicted their opinion that he took them with him to Paradise. The passage, moreover, states that the BODIES of these saints arose. This agreed neither with the view of those Catholics who regarded the reassumption of the body by the saints as yet to take place at a future resurrection, nor with that of the opposite party, who, as well as the Heretics, rejected such a reassumption entirely.

Whether, therefore, the passage originated from Matthew, or be, as some have supposed, a later interpolation, it can in neither case have been intended to teach a liberation from the Underworld analogous to that believed by the Fathers.

The third passage which was regarded as alluding to this liberation is the following, from Paul's *Epistle to the Ephesians* iv. 7-11. "*To each of us has been given favor according to the measure of Christ's bounty. Wherefore [the Scripture] says (Ps. lxxviii. 18), 'ASCENDING ON HIGH, HE LED CAPTIVE THE CAPTIVES, AND CONFERRED GIFTS ON MEN.'*" — *Now this 'HE ASCENDED,' what does it imply, if not that he also descended into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same as he that ascended above all the heavens that he might fulfil all things. — And he gave some to be apostles, and others public teachers, and others evangelists, and others pastors and private teachers," &c.*

The idea of Christian gifts to which Paul was giving utterance, recalled to his mind a passage from the Old Testament touching gifts. Part of the passage suggested a thought extraneous to his subject, which he expresses parenthetically. He understands it as probably implying that the Messiah should descend into the Underworld. Perhaps it may be one of the passages used by Paul according to Acts xvii. 3, in proof "that the Messiah was to suffer and rise again from the

dead."* But of a liberation effected at the same time for others, Paul mentions nothing. If there is any faith to be placed in the connection as a guide to interpretation, he was not thinking of such a thing. That part of the quotation which was regarded by the Fathers as referring to the rescued captives, he neither uses nor notices. He seems to have cited it because he could not make the desired quotation without it.

Of a liberation, therefore, that accompanied the Saviour's resurrection, no mention is left to us out of the Apostolic age. If the idea already existed, it is not alluded to.

2. IN THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES.

In the second and third centuries, the belief of the above-mentioned liberation appears to have been almost universal. **Herms** may have substituted for it a liberation after baptism by the Apostles, or may have held it inconsistently with the latter opinion.† **Certullian** was the only one of whom it

* "They came to Thessalonica where was a synagogue of the Jews. And according to Paul's custom, he entered among them and argued with them for three Sabbaths from the Scriptures, opening and alleging that it was requisite for the Messiah to suffer and arise from the dead, and that this Jesus whom I announce to you is the Messiah." Acts xvii. 1-3. The connection gives us no light as to what passages Paul used. But in Acts xiii. 32-37, we find him using the argument already quoted from, and with an additional link or two in the chain of connection. "We," says Paul, "announce to you the glad tidings that the promise which was made TO THE FATHERS, God has fulfilled TO US THEIR CHILDREN by raising up Jesus. . . . And as to his raising him from the dead, no more to return to corruption, he has thus spoken: 'I will give TO YOU the mercies surely promised TO DAVID.' On which account (the Scripture) elsewhere says, 'Thou wilt not give thy Holy One to see corruption.' David indeed . . . fell asleep and was placed with his fathers, and saw corruption. But he whom God raised up did not see corruption." An interpretation of the passage in Ephesians which does not treat it as referring to Christ will be found in the Christian Examiner (Boston), Vol. V. pp. 65-67. Neither interpretation is without difficulties.

† See § XIII.

can be affirmed that at one time he denied it.* According to his tract, *De Anima*, the sword, gate-keeper of Paradise, "yields to none save those who have DEPARTED IN CHRIST, NOT IN ADAM, - - - not in gentle fevers and in bed, but "AMIDST TORTURES."† Christian martyrs alone were as yet

* Under § XXII. 4 will be given two passages concerning the state of departed souls since Christ, one from Justin and the other from Irenæus, to the purport that "souls abide somewhere" or "go to an invisible place" until the resurrection. These have been erroneously understood as implying a belief by their writers, that no change had been effected in the state of such as departed before Christ. See Pearson on the Creed, note † on p. 363, and King, in his History of the Apostles' Creed, pp. 207, 208.

The opposition of Protestants to the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory and indulgences led them to lay stress on the position, that no change of state was possible after death. The advocates of Church authority were of course indisposed to admit either that such a change had taken place in the condition of the Patriarchs, or that the early Church believed it to have taken place. Pearson (in his work on the Creed, pp. 370, 371) ventures the assertion, that "the most ancient of all the Fathers whose writings are extant, were so far from believing that the end of Christ's descent into hell [i. e. the Underworld] was to translate the saints of old into heaven, that they thought them not to be in heaven yet, NOR EVER TO BE REMOVED FROM THAT PLACE IN WHICH THEY WERE BEFORE CHRIST'S DEATH, until the resurrection," and, in proof of this, refers to but three Fathers prior to the fourth century, viz. Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian. It escaped his attention, that on his own pages he had placed the statement of Irenæus, that "the Lord remembered his dead saints - - - and descended to draw them out (*extrahere eos*) and to save them." See his note * on p. 366. — Marcion would indeed have lost his labor in proving that Abraham and the saints were left in the Underworld if his cotemporaries did not believe that they had been taken out. If the reader wishes to investigate this point, let him examine the whole of § II.; and under § III. the extracts from Ignatius, the opponents of Tertullian, Clement, and Origen; under § VI. from Barnabas; under § VII. from Arnobius; under § VIII. from Irenæus; under § IX. from Justin; under § XIII. from Hermas; and under § III. and in the Appendix, Note E, from Cyprian; besides other passages which he will find scattered through this work.

† *De Anima*, c. 55, p. 353. D.

in Paradise. To this peculiarity he was led, however, by pushing to their consequences arguments which the Liberalist Catholics did not use and which the Orthodox did not venture to carry out; * and which, moreover, he himself at other times either cannot have used or cannot have pushed to the same extent, since, besides the quotation in § IX., he tells us in another work, "You see in what manner also the Divine Wisdom put to death its own first-born and only-begotten Son, who, to be sure, was to gain the victory, and also to bring back others to life." † Even the "*Ascension of Isaiah*" — which represents that prophet as having seen in the seventh heaven during his lifetime "all the saints from Adam, holy Abel and every other saint" ‡ — states that "on the third day (Christ) shall rise again, - - - and many also of the saints shall ascend with him." ||

The belief of the Liberation was so firmly rooted and general at the date of our earliest records in the second century, as to evince that it had grown up in that historical chasm which separates the Apostolic and Ecclesiastic ages, if indeed it may not have originated in the age of the Apostles themselves.

How did this belief arise? Probabilities alone can be suggested in answer. They are the following. Christianity was preached as a life-giving religion at a time when one prominent meaning of life was exemption from the Underworld. ¶ The belief of such an exemption was not only generally maintained in the second and third centuries as the prerogative of Christians, but the Liberation itself was in a variety of ways DIRECTLY connected with the acceptance of Christianity.** When a belief had already arisen, therefore,

* See § XXII. 4, 5, and compare § XXI. 6.

† *Contra Gnosticos* Scorpiace, c. 7, p. 623. D.

‡ Ch. IX. 7, 8.

|| Ch. IX. 17.

¶ See Appendix, Note B.

** See the views of Marcion in § II.; the arguments of Clement of Alexandria and the citation from Peter by Cyprian in the second division

in a mission of the Saviour below, the idea that those who accepted his teachings there must also be entitled to this exemption, was a not unnatural consequent. Loose methods of interpretation rendered it easy to infer, from passages of the Old and New Testaments already adduced, that such a Liberation had actually accompanied the Saviour's resurrection, and there was the greater inducement to this use of the Old Testament, as the Christians thereby found their storehouse of arguments against the Jews much better filled. Jewish Scripture contained nothing applicable to a "Preaching" in the Underworld, but much which could be misinterpreted of a Liberation from it. Either would have implied, according to their method of reasoning, that the Messiah was to die.

§ XIII. THE BAPTISM.

THE Christian Fathers treated baptism as a prerequisite for the Kingdom of Heaven,* and marvellously magnified its virtues. Some of their hearers, however, seem to have thought that a common argument, which was universally regarded as sound when directed against Jewish rites, could not become unsound by being applied to Christian ones. "Here," says Tertullian, "those wretches raise questions. They say, 'Baptism therefore is unnecessary, since faith is sufficient; for Abraham pleased God without any water-sacrament, by faith alone.'"[†] There was certainly a dif-

of § III; the statements of Hermas in § XIII.; and compare Note B in the Appendix. Clement plainly implies, what Marcion, Cyprian, and Hermas affirm, that liberation from the Underworld depended on the becoming Christ's disciples, to which, however, the last-mentioned writer deemed baptism an essential.

* "It is permitted to no one to obtain salvation without baptism." Tertullian *de Baptismo*, c. 12, p. 261. A.

† *De Baptismo*, c. 13, p. 262. A.

ficulty in maintaining baptism as a prerequisite for salvation, and at the same time admitting, not only that the Patriarchs had been acceptable to God without it, but that they had gone to heaven without it. The devout Hermas, author of the Shepherd, sought a solution of this among the difficulties which he considered. His efforts are interesting, as honest, though not always successful, attempts to meet questions which had troubled his own mind, and his manner forms an agreeable contrast to some of the harsher controversial spirit of the age.

Hermas undertook to have the Old Testament saints baptized below. But in the Gospel of John it is stated (iv. 3), "Jesus baptized not, but his disciples"; a fact not overlooked in the second century, since Tertullian's opponents said, "The Lord came, and HE did not baptize";* and Hermas seems to have felt it, for he commits the baptism to the Apostles and their companions. The passage to be quoted is from an allegorical description of the erection of a tower which represents the Christian Church.

SIMILITUDE IX. c. 3, "Then those six (c. 12, messengers of the Saviour) commanded that stones should be brought from a certain deep place [the Underworld] and prepared for the erection of the tower (c. 13, This tower is the Church), and ten white stones squared and uncut were raised up." c. 4, "After those ten stones, twenty-five others were raised from the deep place. - - - After these, thirty-five others were raised; - - - after these, forty stones ascended." c. 15, "The ten stones which were placed in the foundation are the first age,† and the following twenty-five the second age of Just Men. But those thirty are the

* Tertul. de Baptismo, c. 11, p. 260. C.

† The first, or uncircumcised age, from Adam to Abraham; the second, or circumcised, from Abraham to Moses, a division based on the introduction of circumcision and the Mosaic Law. Compare Justin's Dialogue, cc. 23, 27, 43, 92.

“Prophets and Ministers of the Lord [under the old dispensation]. But the forty are the Apostles and Teachers of the preaching of the Son of God.” c. 16, “Why, I said, did these stones ascend from the deep place, and why were they placed in the tower, seeing that they already had just spirits? It is necessary, [the angel] answered, that they should ascend through water, in order to be at rest. For they could not otherwise enter the kingdom of God, than by laying aside the mortality* of their former life. They, therefore, though departed, were impressed with the seal of the Son of God, and entered into the kingdom of God. For before a man receives the name of the Son of God, he is destined to Death; but when he receives that seal [baptism], he is liberated from Death and delivered over to Life. To them, therefore, that seal was preached, and they used it that they might enter the kingdom of God. - - These Apostles and Teachers who preached [while on earth] the name of the Son of God, after they died in his faith and the power which he granted them, preached to those who had previously passed away, and themselves gave them the seal of their preaching. - - Through these, therefore, they (the previously dead) were made alive and acquainted with the name of the Son of God; and on this account ascended with them, and were fitted into the structure of the tower, and were built in without cutting;† for they died in justice and in great chastity, only they had not this seal.”

To an attentive mind it will already have occurred that the foregoing is inconsistent with the idea that the Liberation took place at Christ's resurrection. Hermas may, like Clement of Alexandria, have failed to notice the inconsistency, or may have intended that the Saviour's preaching below —

* See Appendix, Note B.

† Bad stones had their defects cut away.

which, however, he does not mention — was followed by a mission of the Apostles, until which time the Liberation of these departed saints was deferred. The former supposition is perhaps the more probable. A pious disposition not unfrequently becomes inconsistent in endeavoring to maintain usages to which it is attached. When disconnected from boldness, — as was the case in *Hermas*, — such a disposition is not likely to deny, point-blank, favorite dogmas of its co-religionists. And in the present instance a postponement of the Liberation would have been coincident with a denial of much of the theology that had gathered around it.

Irenæus may allude to, though he does not plainly mention, a baptism by the Saviour below. He says that through Christ “all who had been disciples since the beginning [of “the human race], being purified and washed, come into the “life of God”; * that to the departed Just Men, Prophets, and Patriarchs the Lord “remitted their sins IN LIKE MANNER AS to us,” † — phraseology which to a Christian of his day would have suggested a baptism of the departed, though the difficulties in the way of such a doctrine may have prevented *Irenæus* from plainly affirming it.

Clement of Alexandria, notwithstanding his quotation from the above passage of *Hermas*, does not in his own words mention a baptism of the departed; nor, unless some passage has escaped my attention, is it alluded to by the *other Fathers* of the second or third century. The New Testament afforded no warrant for a baptism by the Saviour, and the Apostles could not baptize in the Underworld those whom their Master had already taken out of it.

* *Irenæus*, IV. 22. 1 (IV. 39).

† *Idem*, IV. 27. 2 (IV. 45).

§ XIV. SATAN, OR DEATH, LORD OF THE UNDERWORLD.

THE names * by which the Jews designated the Prince of evil spirits may not always have been synonymes for each other, but Samael and Satan seem to have been identical. In the Jewish theology as contained in the Talmud, Samael or Satan appears in a twofold capacity, as the Angel of Death † and as the ruler of the Gentile world, or of all creatures except the Jews.‡ In the theology of the Fathers he holds two po-

* Lightfoot, in his *Horæ Hebraicæ*, on Luke xi. 15, says, that he finds three evil spirits who are called by the Jews "Prince of the Dæmons." 1. "The Angel of Death." 2. "Asmodeus." 3. "Beelzebub." In the Book of Enoch, Azazyel is the leader of the fallen angels. Belial or Beliar appears in the Bible, in the Ascension of Isaiah (where either name is perhaps used interchangeably for Samael), and in other Christian writers, who no doubt borrowed it from the Jews.

† Wetstein, in his note on Hebrews ii. 14, quotes the following: "Targum Jonathan, Gen. iii. 6, 'And the woman saw Samael, the Angel of 'Death.' Bavo Bathra, f. 16. 1, Rabbi Lakisch said, 'He is Satan; he 'is the Angel of Death.' Devarim R. ult., Samael was the cause (?) 'of death to the whole world.'"

In the Koran the Angel of Death is Azrael or Azrail, apparently distinct from Satan.

‡ Wetstein quotes, in his note on John xii. 31, the following: "Bemidmar R. xvi. f. 220 - 223. 'When the Law was given, God summoned 'the Angel of Death, and said to him, The whole world is in your power 'except this nation which I have chosen for myself. - - - The Angel of 'Death said in the presence of God, I am created to no purpose in the 'world. - - - God answered, I created thee to watch over the nations of 'the world. - - - When the children of Israel stood at Mount Sion [Sinai?] and said, Exod. xxiv. 7, [*All that the Lord hath said will we do 'and be obedient.*] God called the Angel of Death and said to him, Al- 'though I have appointed you World-Ruler over creatures —'" Wetstein omits the rest of the quotation, the foregoing part of which would lead us to expect in conclusion a special exception as above in favor of the Jews.

sitions, analogous to the foregoing, but so developed as to create some discordance between them. He is the God of this World (i. e. of the unbelieving world) ; * the Prince of the Powers of the Air (i. e. of the Dæmon-deities who ruled the Gentiles), dwelling in the firmament.† He is also the Lord of the Underworld, and in this capacity is called "Death."‡ This is the character in which we are here to consider him. Any examination into his character as Prince of Evil would lead us too far from our subject.

* Origen says : " He is called the Prince of the World, not because he created it, but because there are many sinners in this world. Inasmuch, therefore, as he is the Prince of Sin, he is also called the Prince of the World ; Prince, that is, of those who have not yet left the world and turned to the Father." In Numeros Hom. XII. 4, Opp., Vol. II. p. 315. D. Tertullian tells Marcion : " Therefore, if (Paul) says that the Gentiles were without God, and their God is the Devil, not the Creator, it is apparent that that '*Lord of this Age*' (2 Cor. iv. 4) is to be understood whom the Gentiles received as God ; not the Creator, of whom they are ignorant." Adv. Marcion, V. 11, p. 598. C. D.

† " It will be easy," says Tertullian, " to interpret the Lord of this Age as the Devil, who said, according to the Prophet (Is. xiv. 14), '*I will be like the Most High ; I will place my throne among the clouds !*' " Adv. Marcion, V. 11, p. 598. B. And again : " Who is he ? [The Prince of the Powers of the Air, Eph. ii. 2,] without doubt, he who raises up children of unbelief in opposition to the Creator, having possessed himself of this air, as the Prophet [I follow the text of the Tauchnitz edit.] relates that he said, '*I will place my throne among the clouds, I will be like the Most High.*' " This is the Devil, whom elsewhere too — if indeed persons wish so to understand the Apostle — we recognize as the *God of this age*." Adv. Marcion, V. 17, p. 608. C.

The Ascension of Isaiah states : " We then ascended into the firmament, I and he (the angel), where I beheld Samael and his powers. Great slaughter was perpetrated by him, and diabolical deeds." Ch. VII. 9. And again : " He (Christ) descended into the firmament where the Prince of this World dwells ; - - - he descended - - - to the angels of the air ; - - - they were plundering and assaulting one another." Ch. X. 29, 30, 31.

‡ Origen tells us : " Death in the Scriptures - - - signifies many things. For the separation of the body from the soul is named death ; but this can

A passage in the *Writer to the Hebrews* has been regarded as the earliest allusion from a Christian pen to Satan as Ruler of the dead. He is there spoken of as having "*the dominion of death*." The Greek term for dominion, *κράτος*, has sometimes the force of "regal authority," but the connection of the passage does not foreclose difference of opinion as to its interpretation.

Some of the Fathers leave us in no doubt that at least one — and a very prominent — sense in which they understood Satan to have the dominion of death was this: they supposed him to have detained in his gloomy regions below, and to have ruled over, the departed members of the human family, until Christ descended for their liberation. By them mankind, except Christians, were generally — though not without doubt on the part of some — regarded as still becoming his prey at death.

But how had Satan attained this authority? There are different answers to this question by some of the Fathers, while others give us no answer, and do not even intimate that the question had occurred to them.

Irenæus says: The Law "burdened sinful man by showing him to be THE DEBTOR OF [or due to] Death," * and

"neither be regarded as an evil nor a good. . . . And, again, that separation of the soul from God which sin occasions is called death. This is obviously an evil, and is also called the wages of sin. . . . And, again, THE DEVIL himself, the author of this death, is CALLED DEATH, and he it is who is called the last enemy that Christ shall destroy. But the region of THE UNDERWORLD, WHERE [before Christ] SOULS WERE DETAINED BY DEATH [the Devil], it also is CALLED DEATH." In Rom. Lib. VI. 6, Opp., Vol. IV. p. 576. B. C.

* For the convenience of the reader I subjoin the connection of the passage. "Therefore they (the Gnostics) who say that he (Christ) was manifested in appearance, but not born in the flesh, nor truly made man, are as yet under the former condemnation, and advocate the cause of Sin; since, according to them, that Death has not been conquered, which 'reigned from Adam to Moses, even over such as had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression.' But when the Law came, which was

thinks, as will appear in a citation under § XVI., that, in order to man's release, his enemy needed to be JUSTLY conquered; expressions which would seem to imply a belief that this enemy had a right to hold man. Yet the foregoing quotation is introduced by saying, that "when the Law came, which was "given through Moses, and testified of Sin that he is a sinner, it took away his regal dignity, disclosing him to be a "ROBBER and HOMICIDE, instead of a king." And a citation from the same writer, which will be found in § XVIII. 2, treats the Apostate Angel as having "seized rapaciously "what was not his."

Irenæus may have made a not very well defined distinction in his own mind between Satan as the personification of Sin, and the same being as the personification of Death, supposing him, in his former capacity, to be unjustifiable for misleading man, but in his latter to be fairly entitled to him after he was misled. It is more probable, however, that his ideas were simply confused and inconsistent.

The author of the *Clementine Homilies* says that "to "the soul [which calumniates God] no rest (or place of rest) "will be given in the Underworld, by him who is APPOINTED "as ruler there."* This writer was too singular to represent any one's views but his own; nor is it likely that the fair inferences from his position would have been accepted by himself.

According to *Origen*, it was simply the lot of human nature that it descended to the Underworld, and thereby became a prey to Satan. "If that Death," he tells us, "which "detained souls in the Underworld, be said, as it is in some

"given through Moses, and testified of Sin that he is a sinner, it took "away his regal dignity (*regnum*, a translation probably of βασιλείαν), "disclosing him to be a robber and homicide, instead of a king. But it "burdened sinful man, by showing him to be the debtor of (or due to) "Death, *reum Mortis* [a translation probably of ὀφειλέτην θανάτου] *ostendens eum*." Irenæus. cont. Hæres. III. 18. 7 (III. 20).

* Hom. XI. 10, Cotel., Vol. I. p. 701.

“copies, to ‘*have reigned even over those who did NOT sin*
 “‘*after the manner of Adam’s transgression,*’ we under-
 “stand that some of the saints had fallen under that Death, if
 “not by the law of sinning, yet certainly by that of dying; and
 “that therefore Christ descended into the Underworld, not
 “only that he himself should not be held by Death,* but that
 “he might draw out those who were kept there, as we have
 “said, not so much by the crime of transgression as by the
 “condition affixed to dying; - - - he destroyed the kingdoms
 “of death, out of which it is written that he liberated the cap-
 “tives. But as to the enemy and tyrant whose kingdoms he
 “ruined, hear in what manner the Apostle says that HE shall
 “be destroyed. (1 Cor. xv. 26.) ‘*The last enemy,*’ he says,
 “‘*that shall be destroyed is Death.*’”†

The **Dispute of Archelaus with Manes** takes a different view from either of the above. Its author had perhaps felt the force of the Manichæan objection, that the worshippers of the Jewish Deity went to the regions of darkness. Two passages are discussed in the following extract, the statement of Paul (Rom. v. 14), “*Death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over such as did not sin in the same manner as Adam,*” and the term (2 Cor. iii. 7), “*Ministration of Death,*” which he applies to the communication of the Law. Archelaus, who appears as the Catholic disputant, explains Paul’s words as follows: “Since the memory of the wicked did not faithfully retain the natural law written on their hearts, - - - and
 “by transgression of its commandments Death obtained a
 “kingdom among men, - - - Death exulted and reigned with
 “full power until Moses, even over those who had not sinned
 “in the manner mentioned; over sinners as properly his and
 “subject to him, - - - but over the righteous, because, instead
 “of obeying, they resisted him. - - - When Moses came and
 “gave the Law - - - he delivered to death only those who

* See the third division of § XVIII.

† Comment. in Rom., Lib. V. I., Opp., Vol. IV. p. 551. B. C.

“should transgress it. Death was PROHIBITED from reigning over all. For by the direction of the Law to him, — ‘You shall not touch these who keep my precepts,’* — he reigned over sinners alone. . . . But even after this, Death wished to rescind the contract prescribed [a euphémism apparently for ‘the conditions imposed’] by Moses, and to reign anew over the just; and he rushed upon the Prophets, killing and stoning those who were sent by God, even to [the time of] Zacharias. But my Lord Jesus, who watched over the justice [just administration?] of the Law of Moses, being indignant at Death for his transgression of the agreement, . . . saw fit to come in a human body, that he might ‘VINDICATE,’† not himself, but Moses and those who in succession after him had been oppressed by the violence of Death. . . . The Law is called ‘*The Ministration of Death*’ because it delivered sinful transgressors to Death. But it protected its observers from Death, and placed them in glory through the support and aid of our Lord Jesus Christ.”‡

Marcion believed the existence of Satan, whom, says Tertullian, “both we and Marcion recognize as an [evil] angel.”|| He was brought into being by the Creator, for, according to Tertullian, Marcion regarded the Creator as “the author of the Devil.”¶ Whether he identified him with the personification of Death, does not appear.

* This is perhaps an erroneous quotation of Ps. cv. 15, “*Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm*”; or the writer may have confounded with the Pentateuch some of the traditional comments upon it, such as are quoted from Wetstein in a note near the beginning of this section.

† Compare the note on this word as quoted from Arnobius in the third division of § XXII.

‡ Archelai et Manetis Disputat., ch. 30. Routh, Reliq. Sac., Vol. V. pp. 112–115.

|| Tertul. adv. Marcion, V. 12, p. 600. B. Mr. Norton seems to have overlooked this passage. See his Genuineness of the Gospels, Vol. III. p. 61 (2d edit. p. 64). Compare with it an extract from Tertullian in a note under § XXI. 2.

¶ Ibid. II. 10, p. 461. B.

The **Valentinians** believed in a Devil, "whom," says Irenæus, "they also call Cosmocrator,"* that is, World-ruler. He dwelt in this world,† possibly in the firmament which formed its upper limit. They personified Death,‡ and no doubt identified him with the Cosmocrator, the ruler of this Underworld, as they regarded it,—this region of darkness, where, as will appear in the sixth division of § XXII., they regarded the earthly-minded after death as remaining until destroyed by the conflagration.

§ XV. FOREBODINGS OF CONFLICT.

1. THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN.

WOULD the Lord of the Underworld surrender his prisoners without a battle? This was hardly to be expected. In the Scripture interpretations of **Origen** we find the Saviour represented towards the close of his life as looking with anxiety to the conflict that should follow. On the words of Matthew (xxvi. 37), "*Taking Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, he began to be sorrowful and heavy,*" Origen remarks, "For perhaps he saw, standing by, the 'kings of the earth and 'princes [that is, as elsewhere explained,|| the dæmon-
" 'powers], *congregated together against the Lord, and*
" '*against his Christ.*' - - - Therefore he began to be sad as
" concerned his human nature, which was subject to such
" sufferings, but not as to his divine nature, which was far re-

* Cont. Hæres. I. 5, 4 (I. 1). The term is borrowed from Paul's expression, "*World-rulers of this darkness,*" Eph. vi. 12.

† Ibid.

‡ Doctrina Orient. c. 61, p. 984.

|| Comment in Joan. Tom. XXXII. 15, Opp., Vol. IV. p. 443. A. In Genes. Hom. IX. 3, Opp., Vol. II. p. 86. A.

"moved from suffering of this kind. - - - Seeing therefore that "contest impending which he was not to maintain against "flesh and blood, but against so many kings of the earth, "who were standing by, and princes congregated against "himself, as never previously [had collected], he **BEGAN** to "fear or to be sad, suffering no further sadness or fear, how- "ever, than the beginning of it. But he did **BEGIN** to fear "and be sad, at which time he said (Matt. xxvi. 38), '*My "soul is sad even to death.*' " *

2. THE TWENTY-SECOND PSALM.

The contents of this Psalm would render it probable, that it may have been used among the Jews as an expression both of suffering and of confidence in God. Those who appreciate the power of a familiar devotional strain to support the soul under suffering, will hardly need further explanation of the fact that its first line was uttered by the Saviour on the cross. The Fathers put into the Saviour's mouth the whole Psalm, and did not always select as the subject of their comments those portions which would sound most gratefully to the ear of modern devotion. The "*Roaring Lion*," by allusion to 1 Peter v. 8, was commonly interpreted to mean Satan or Death. Origen understands the "*Gaping Bulls*" which surrounded the speaker to mean Dæmons, and adds, "It is "probable that (Jesus) saw around him the [infernal] powers, "which wished to seize upon his soul and force it down to "the regions of gloom." On the eleventh verse, "*Be not "far from me, for trouble is near, for there is no one to "help*," he remarks: "Perhaps the words '*trouble is near*' "were uttered while yet on the cross with reference to his "exigence in the Underworld from its rulers. He speaks "this as if destitute of assistance from the angels; for not "one of them dared to descend thither with him." †

* Origen Ser. Com. in Matt., No. 90, Opp., Vol. III. p. 902.

† Comment. in Ps. 21 (22), Opp., Vol. II. p. 621.

Certullian tells the Jews, "If you still desire teachings [of the Old Testament] concerning the Lord's cross, the twenty-first [twenty-second] Psalm can give you enough of it, containing, as it does, the whole history of Christ's suffering, who was thenceforward to sing his own glory. - - - When he implored the aid of his Father, 'Save me,' he says, 'from the mouth of the Lion,' — that is, of Death."*

Justin's interpretation of the same passage will be found in § IX.

§ XVI. THE VICTORY.—THE UNDERWORLD RIVEN.

OUR Saviour, in answer to the Jews who charged him with casting out dæmons by the aid of Beelzebub, called attention to their inconsistency by the remark that Beelzebub could not be expected to lay waste his own possessions, and that a stronger alone than Beelzebub could do it.

Though the reply of Jesus was less frequently misinterpreted than its appositeness to our subject might have induced us to anticipate, yet it was misinterpreted, and it will, with its exposition by Origen, form no inappropriate introduction to the present section. "*How*," says the Saviour, "*can any one enter the strong one's house and plunder his goods, except he first bind the strong one, and then he will plunder his house.*"† Or, according to the wording of Luke's Gospel, "*When a strong one in armor guards his threshold, his property is undisturbed. But when a stronger than he, coming upon him, shall conquer him, he takes away his armor in which he trusted, and divides his spoils.*"‡

Origen, alluding to and quoting the above, says: "Christ voluntarily '*emptied himself and took the form of a servant,*'

* Adv. Judæos, c. 10, p. 222. A.

† Matt. xii. 29.

‡ Luke xi. 21, 22.



“and suffered the rule of the tyrant, ‘*being made obedient unto Death*,’ * by which death he destroyed ‘*him who had the dominion of death, that is the Devil*,’ † that he might liberate those who were held by Death. For having bound the strong one, he went into his house, into the house of Death, into the Underworld, and thence plundered his goods, that is, carried off the souls which he held, - - and thence “*ascending on high, led captive the captives.*” ‡

It is one instance of the inconsistencies of the Fathers, that in the foregoing Christ is represented as first binding his enemy, and then entering his house, whereas other passages commonly mention a fearful struggle as occurring in the Underworld.

The earliest Christian passage in which the germ of the above opinion might be sought, is from the **Writer to the Hebrews**, who says that Christ partook of flesh and blood, “*that through death he might destroy him who has the dominion of death, that is, the Devil.*” || But the further object there stated is not the delivery of the dead from his power, but of the living from the fear of death,—that he “*might deliver as many as through fear of death were, during their whole lives, subject to slavery.*” ¶ The passage, moreover, does not explain the connection between Christ’s death and the Devil’s destruction.

Justin Martyr speaks of Christ as having, “for the salvation of such as believed on him, endured humiliation and suffering, that by dying and rising again he might conquer Death,” ** but does not explain the nature of the victory. The reader may examine a further extract from him in the next section, to see whether it throws light on the subject.

* Philip. ii. 7, 8.

† Heb. ii. 14.

‡ Ps. lxxviii. 18. Origen, Comment. in Rom. Lib. VI. 10, Opp., Vol. IV. pp. 567. D., 568. A.

|| Ch. ii. 14.

¶ Ibid. 15.

** Apol. I. c. 63, p. 82. A.

Irenæus is the earliest writer who **DILATES** on the Saviour's victory. Before quoting him, it will be necessary, however, to explain one of his peculiarities. In reply to the Gnostics who maintained that there was no connection, or but an indirect one, between the Old and New Dispensations, Irenæus endeavored to show that the events of the Old Dispensation were antithetically repeated in the New,* leaving it to be inferred that this repetition implied a direct connection between the two. Keeping his mind intently fixed on the discovery of these antitheses, and forgetting consistency or coherence in his search for them, he blends Christ's moral victory, won by resisting Satan's temptations, and his physical — if I may so term it — victory in the Underworld, in such inextricable confusion, that it is difficult to decide, in many instances, which of the two was most present to his mind. In order to save perplexity to the reader, I will select, at the risk of error, what seems most pertinent, in the following passages, to the Underworld victory, and defer to their close a connected specimen of the confusion whence they are extracted.

But further, as Satan was not only Lord of the Underworld and the dead, but Ruler of this world, the same victory which liberated the departed from his dominions broke his power over men in this life, so that Irenæus blends together, as do other Fathers, the liberation from the Underworld and the liberation from Satan in this life, under the general idea of **MAN'S** liberation from thralldom.

The reader will remember Origen's expression, that Christ

* Thus Satan had got the better of Adam when the latter was not hungry by inducing him to eat, and had therefore to be conquered by Christ's refusal to eat when he was hungry; — that is, by his refusal to turn stones into bread. (Adv. Hæres. V. 21. 1.) — [The human race] which the **VIRGIN** Eve bound by her **INCREPULITY**, the **VIRGIN** Mary freed by her **TRUSTFULNESS**. (Ibid. III. 22. 4.) — By wood [of the tree of life] we were made debtors of God; by wood [of the cross] we receive remission of our debt. (Ibid. V. 17. 3.)

descended to wrestle (*παλαίσων*) with the powers of the Underworld as their master. Irenæus says: "He wrestled (*luctatus est*) and conquered, for he was a man contending for the fathers, - - he bound the strong one and set loose the weak." * "For if a MAN had not conquered the enemy of mankind, that enemy would not have been justly conquered." † And again: "For if [that] man who had been formed by God that he might live, after having lost his life here, through the injury sustained from the serpent which had corrupted him, had no more returned to life, - - God would have been conquered; - - but since God is unconquered, - - He by the second man bound the strong one, and spoiled his goods, and abolished death, vivifying that man (Adam) who had been rendered dead. - - So that he who had led man captive was justly in his turn taken captive by God, but man who had been led captive was freed from the chains of condemnation." ‡

"But since man is saved, it is proper that the first formed man should be saved. Since it is too unreasonable to say that he who was violently injured by the enemy, and first suffered captivity, should not be rescued by that enemy's conqueror, but that the children should be rescued, whom he generated in the same captivity. Nor indeed will the enemy appear conquered while the former spoils yet remain with him." ||

"Adam had been conquered, all life (immortality ? ¶) being taken from him; therefore, the enemy being in turn conquered, Adam received life; - - his salvation is the abolition of death. Therefore, when the Lord vivified man, that is, when he vivified Adam, Death was abolished." **

* Cont. Hæres. III. 18. 6 (III. 20).

† Ibid. III. 18. 7 (III. 20).

‡ Ibid. III. 23. 1 (III. 33).

|| Ibid. III. 23. 2 (III. 34).

¶ On the meaning of life and death, see Appendix, Note B.

** Cont. Hæres. III. 23. 7 (III. 38).

“As by a conquered man our race descended into death, thus by a human victor we ascend into life. And as through a man Death bore away the palm from us, thus we in our turn through a man bear away the palm from Death.”*

“The Word steadfastly bound him (the apostate angel) as his fugitive, and plundered his goods, that is, the men who were detained by him, and whom he used unjustly. And with justice was he led captive who had led man captive unjustly, but man . . . was drawn out from the power of his possessor.”†

It is due to the reader to state, that I am more uncertain as to the actual meaning of the foregoing extracts, than as to that of any others which I have or shall adduce as proofs in the course of the present work. The diffuseness and repetition of Irenæus on the subject of Christ's victory do not render him plain. Oftentimes the connection seems to admit the idea only of a moral victory, which restored in some way Adam's immortality. Yet Irenæus believed that Christ went personally to the Underworld to bring up Adam; he appears to have shared, as will be seen in the next section, the idea of the Saviour having deceived Satan in order to gain admission to his dominions; and he believed that man—that Adam—“was drawn out from the power of his possessor”; which cannot have meant an extraction from the wiles of Satan that were misleading him to sin, since according to Irenæus man's capacity of sinning ceased with this life.‡ It can hardly be

* Cont. Hæres. III. 21. 1 (III. 24).

† Ibid. V. 21. 3.

‡ “(God) ejected him (Adam) from Paradise, and removed him far from the wood of life, not envying him the wood of life, as some dare to say, but in compassion for him, that he might not remain for ever a transgressor, and that the sin in which he was involved might not be everlasting, nor the evil interminable and incurable. He prevented further transgression, by the interposition of death, and by making sin to cease through that termination that he imposes on it by the dissolution of his flesh which takes place on this earth; that man ceasing to live to sin,

that he did not share the belief of a victory in the Underworld by which some of the foregoing phraseology was prompted. That the reader may have the promised specimen of commingled figures out of which the above extracts have been made, I will add the following, premising that he will find it more antithetical than intelligible.

"With these (transgression and apostasy) the apostate angel bound man. By man, therefore, it was proper that he, when conquered, should in his turn be bound with the same chains, - - - that man, being freed, should return to his God, leaving the chains, that is, transgression, to him through whom himself had been formerly fettered. For the imposition of fetters on him (*illius colligatio*) was made the means of man's liberation, since '*No one can enter the strong one's house and plunder his goods unless he shall first have bound the strong one.*'" *

Irenæus does not inform us whether Satan, prior to being bound, was, like Adam in his original state, pure and untrammelled by the fetters of sin. Nor, if the reverse were the case, does he explain how Satan should be more hindered now than formerly by such fetters from detaining his captives. The passage is a curious exemplification of the manner in

"and dying to it, might begin to live to God." Irenæus cont. Hæres. III. 23. 6 (III. 37).

An analogous view of death to this is also presented by Theophilus. "Through his disobedience man subjected himself to labor, suffering, grief, and finally fell under death; and God allowed this to man as a great benefit, that he might not remain for ever in sin." Adv. Autolycum, II. 25, 26, p. 367. C. D. I alter the Benedictine punctuation. Theophilus, however, did not hold to an original immortality in Adam. He believed him capable of attaining either mortality or immortality. See "Adv. Autolycum," II. 27, p. 368. A. B.

The Rule of Faith ascribed to Novatian also says, that Adam "was driven away to prevent his touching the wood of the tree of life, - - - that he might not by living for ever - - - carry about with him an unending fault." pp. 13, 14. And Methodius advances a similar view. See extract in Epiphanius adv. Hæres. LXIV. 23, Vol. I. p. 546. D.

* Irenæus cont. Hæres. V. 21. 3.

which a man may, by the utterance of words, cheat himself into the supposition that he is expressing ideas.

Certullian on this subject challenges the Jews with his usual roughness. "Come on now: If you have read the "words of the Prophet in the Psalms (Ps. xcvi. 10, xcvii. 1), " '*The Lord has REIGNED from the Wood,*'—I await your "understanding of it. Do you think perhaps it means some "wooden king, and not Christ, who from the time of his suffering on the wood reigned, Death being conquered?"* A comparison of the citation already given from the same connection under the preceding section, will evince that the Lord of the Underworld is the person designated by Death.

Cyprian lays down as one of his positions to be proved, "That (Christ) should not be CONQUERED by Death, nor remain in the Underworld."† This cannot have meant that he was not to die, nor does it—considering the date when it was written—admit a natural interpretation, save as referring to the exertion of power requisite to escape from below. Elsewhere he says of Jesus, that "it was requisite for him to "suffer, not in order that he might undergo, but that he might "conquer Death. . . . Then he was carried in a cloud to "heaven, that as a victor he might place before his Father "man, whom he loved, whose cause he espoused, and whom "he protected from Death."‡

The **Latin Version** or **Versions** of Scripture,|| as quoted

* Adv. Judæos, c. 10, p. 221. D. '*From the wood*' may have been either a *memoriter* confusion of verse 12 with 10, a marginal comment, or an interpolation.

† Testimon. II. 24.

‡ De Idolorum Vanitate, p. 16. The expression on the same page, that the Saviour "compelled . . . the Underworld to yield," refers to the restoration of Lazarus and others to life during his ministry, not apparently to his own Underworld mission.

|| The Greek word *víkos*, *victory*, seems to have been exchanged for or confounded with *veíkos*, *struggle* or *contest*. "*Where, O Death, is thy sting? Where, O Death, is thy contest?*" Tertul. de Resurrect. Carn.

by Tertullian and Cyprian, were of a nature to spread the idea of a conflict below, and wherever that view prevailed, there was no doubt in the minds of Christians as to which party remained victor.

The Underworld, like other conquered countries, seems to have suffered from the hostile visitation. A portion of a forged document, first mentioned by Eusebius and probably belonging to the latter part of the third century, is commonly quoted by the title of *Pseudo-Chaddens*. It represents that Apostle as saying, "To-morrow - - I will proclaim - - how he was crucified, and descended into the Underworld, and rent open the inclosure which since eternity had not been rent, and rose again, and wakened at the same time the dead who had slept for ages, and how he descended alone, but ascended with a vast crowd to his Father." *

A passage in the *Larger Greek Ignatian Epistles* may also belong to the third century, though the same cannot be said of the whole Epistles. It is as follows: "Christ - - was crucified and died, whilst the inhabitants of heaven, earth, and the Underworld looked on. - - Inhabitants of the Underworld, that is, the multitude of those who ascended with the Lord. - - And he descended into the Underworld alone, but ascended with a multitude, and rent the eternal inclosure, and destroyed its middle wall." †

Origen's view as to the thoroughness of Christ's victory might already be inferred. Its strength in the reader's mind will not be diminished by the following: "The kingdom of Death is indeed already destroyed, and the captives which were held in it are taken away. But because the enemy

cc. 47, 51, 54, pp. 415. D., 419. D., 423. C. "Where, O Death, is thy victory, or contest? Where, O Death, is thy sting? Idem, Adv. Marcion, c. 10, p. 596. B. "Death is swallowed up in the contest? Where, O Death, is thy sting? Where, O Death, is thy contest?" Cyprian, Testimon. III. 58, p. 81. In this form it would seem more difficult to attach a merely metaphorical sense to the passage.

* Euseb. Ecc. Hist. I. 13.

† Epist. to Trallians, c. 9.

“ himself and tyrant is yet to be destroyed - - - at the close
 “ of the age, therefore we see him even now, not reigning,
 “ but rather robbing, and an exile from his kingdom, wan-
 “ dering through deserts and by-paths to seek for himself a
 “ band of the unbelieving.”*

In perusing the language of a former age, the reader is sometimes exposed to the risk of attaching to it too much, and at other times too little force. The latter danger I suppose to be in the present case the greater. The Christians regarded themselves as in a conflict with the powers of evil. *“We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against - - - the World-rulers of this darkness, against the spirits (τὰ πνεύματα) of evil in heaven-high situations.”*† This was the language of Paul, and it was generally understood by the Christians as referring to their warfare with the dæmon powers who had falsely assumed the character of deities; who were trembling for the overthrow of their own authority, and who, to maintain it as long as possible, were instigating the Heathens in every way to persecute and crush Christianity. It was a matter of pride with the Christians, that when a dæmon had possessed a man, the simple follower of Christ, in the might of his Master’s name, could put the imaginary deity into convulsions and drive him out. Their ardor kindled and their courage mounted, as the tide of battle seemed going against them. When persecutions thickened and a brother asked, whether it were allowable to fly,‡ Tertullian exclaimed, “Do you fear man, O Christian, - - - you of whom the dæmons should be afraid?”|| And while rack and fire did

* In Rom. Lib. V. 1, Opp., Vol. IV. p. 551. C. D.

† Eph. vi. 12.

‡ “You asked lately, brother Fabius, whether it were permissible to fly during persecution. - - - In proportion as persecutions thicken, the inquiry should be carefully instituted, ‘How ought the faithful to meet “them?”’ Tertul. de Fuga in Persecut. c. 1, p. 689. A. B.

|| Ibid. c. 10, p. 696. B.

their work,* the voice of the same writer rung out its bold defiance of the Heathens, daring them to test the fancied divinity of their gods, and staking the Christian exorcist's life upon the issue, if he did not compel the imagined deity to confess itself an evil spirit. "Let some one be brought before your tribunals, who is known to be agitated by a dæmon. At the command of ANY Christian, that spirit shall as truly confess itself a dæmon as it elsewhere falsely proclaims itself a god. Equally let any one be produced of those who are regarded as impelled by the divine power, who by inhaling from the altars draw in the divinity with the fumes. - - Let that celestial virgin who promises rain, let Æsculapius himself, the teacher of medicine. - - Unless they confess themselves dæmons not daring to lie to a Christian, pour out the blood of the audacious Christian on the spot." †

The Christians believed in the existence of these dæmon deities as thoroughly as they did in their own. The victory won by their Master over the dæmon king was not to them an unmeaning tale. When the opponents of Origen asked ‡ the purpose of Christ's descent, their tone challenges other answer than that he descended to conquer.

We, too, — if we would realize a conflict in which mankind was the stake to be fought for, and the Son of God on the one side, with the congregated hosts of hell on the other, were the contestants,|| — must forget that the dæmon deities

* Tertul. Apologet. c. 12; compare cc. 2, 49, 50.

† Ibid. c. 23, p. 24. D.

‡ See § X.

|| Firmicus Maternus, in the earlier part of the fourth century, attributes the earthquake and darkness at the Saviour's death to the shock of the subterranean battle. Of the work which he addressed to Constantius and Constans, the sons of Constantine the Great, one chapter is a tolerably specific description of Christ's mission to the dead, from which the following is an extract: "During three days the mustered band of righteous was collected by him (the Son of God), that the wickedness of Death might no longer prevail against them, nor the virtue of the right-

were a fiction, and that the Underworld is an absurdity. As we read Origen's exposition of the twenty-second Psalm, we should imagine the infernal powers — greedy for their prey — as already gathering around their victim on the cross, the angels as shrinking in panic from the descent, and the Saviour as hurried to the Underworld, in the gloom of whose mighty cavern, unaided and alone, he was to prove his strength against the king of terrors and the thronging legions of darkness. No whisper of incredulity should blunt our perceptions of the Saviour's fidelity, — faithful to the conflict whence all save he had fled, — or prevent us from realizing his dread of it ; for he forgets the agony of the cross in a prayer, not for support under his sufferings, but for the divine aid in that more dreadful struggle which impended. Doubt should not check the rising enthusiasm, when we learn that he "broke in the adamantine gates of Death" and "wrestled with the powers there as their master." Unbelief should not quell the thrill of triumph when we are told that he crushed man's enemy in the security of his own fortress ; that he "rove asunder" his "eternal prison-house," liberated his captives, desolated his kingdoms, and drove him forth a homeless vagabond to glean by plunder in the by-ways a band of the unfaithful.* The thoroughness of the destruction raised

"eous give way through prolonged despair. He broke [open] the eternal prison-house, and the iron doors collapsed at the command of Christ. "The earth trembled, and by the shuddering of its firm foundations acknowledged the presence of Christ's divine power. Before the appointed time the circling whirl of the world [not of the earth] hurries the day " [to its conclusion], and the sun with hastened course verges into night, " whilst the measure of the daily hours is as yet incomplete. The very " summit of the veil was rent, and the darkness of night covered the " earth's orb with obscurer shades. All the elements were disturbed when " Christ fought, — when he first armed a human body against the tyranny of Death." c. 24.

* That I may not be suspected of coloring, I give the original from Origen, or rather the Latin translation of Rufinus, which alone remains

the question subsequently, whether the Underworld had not been left tenantless.*

We can sometimes be aided in determining the tone of feeling on any subject, by examining that which prevails on a kindred one. The Christians kept the first day of the week in memory of their Master's resurrection,† and the customs of the day were such as well befitted a season of glad triumph. No posture of humiliation should sully it, or careworn countenance derogate from it. Six days in the week — unless in so far as Saturday was excepted among Oriental Christians — might a man bow in devout adoration before his God, or prostrate himself in the agony of contrition, as he recollected his follies, his errors, and his sins. But on the first day of the week no Christian knee was permitted to bend in prayer,‡ nor was a Christian countenance to be anxious.||

to us: "Mortis quidem jam regna (Christus) destruxit, unde et captivitatem scribitur liberasse . . . videmus eum (Mortem) non tam regnare quam latrocinari: et depulsum regno, per deserta et avia circumeuntem, "querere sibi infidelium manum." Origen in Rom. Tom. V. 1, Opp., Vol. IV. p. 551. C. D.

* Evodius in the fourth century asked Augustine "whether Christ . . . liberated all, . . . so that from the Lord's resurrection till the judgment the Underworld should be empty." Evod. Epist. 98 (163). Augustine, Opp. Vol. II. p. 90. L. And in the addition to the Acts of Pilate, the Underworld is represented as saying to Satan, "Turn and see that not one of the dead is left in me." Thilo, Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test. p. 732.

† "We observe the eighth day joyously, on which Jesus rose from the dead and ascended into heaven." Epist. of Barnabas, c. 15. (XIII. 10).

‡ "Abstinence from kneeling on the Lord's day is a symbol of the resurrection, . . . and this custom originated in Apostolic times, as the blessed martyr Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, says in his work on the Passover." Respons. ad Quæst. 115, ad Orthodoxos, Just. Opp. p. 490. A. "We deem it impious (*nefas*) to fast on the Lord's day, or to pray kneeling." Tertul. de Corona Mil. c. 3, p. 121. D. "Since there are some who kneel on the Lord's day, . . . the holy synod decrees that prayers be offered standing." Council of Nice, Canon 20.

|| "On the Lord's day we ought not only to abstain from kneeling, but from all anxiety of mind." Tertul. de Orat. c. 18. (All after c. 14 is

§ XVII.] CHRIST'S INCARNATION CONCEALED FROM SATAN. 81

On that day, as the deacon called the assembly to their devotions, it was with the admonition, "Let us stand perfectly erect,"* and when the recurring year brought with it the anniversary of the Master's resurrection, his followers for the space of fifty days maintained the same upright position in their prayers.†

Even the Valentinians borrowed the language, if not the ideas, of the Catholics concerning a victory, for the *Doctrina Orientalis*, in treating of Death's rule, the insufficiency of other aid, and the interference of Christ, terms him "the great Athlete."‡

§ XVII. CHRIST'S INCARNATION CONCEALED FROM SATAN.

WHAT induced Satan or his powers to take so dangerous a prisoner into their dominions? The answer to this question

wanting in Rigault's edition.) "If any one from a pretence of asceticism "fasts on the Lord's day, let him be anathema." Council of Gangra, Canon 18.

* *Ὁρθῶς στῶμεν καλῶς*. Chrysostom. Hom. 29 (al. 4), *De Incomprehensibili Dei Natura*, T. I. p. 375; Hom. 2, in 2 Cor. p. 740. I take the quotation, though not the translation, from Bingham's *Antiq. Book XIII. c. 8, § 3*. Bingham calls this the "usual form so often mentioned by St. Chrysostom and others."

† "In which (i. e. the discourse on the Passover) Irenæus mentions "the fifty-day [festival], in which we do not bend the knee, since it has "an equal force with the Lord's day." Respons. ad Quæst. 115, ad Orthodox., Just. Opp. p. 490. A. "With the same immunity [from fasting "and kneeling as on the Lord's day] we rejoice from Easter to Pentecost." Tertul. de Cor. Mil. c. 3, p. 121. D. "We observe the same custom in those [fifty days] as on the Lord's day, during which our ancestors handed it down to us that no fast was to be kept or knee bent, "on account of reverence for the Lord's resurrection." Cassian, Collat. 21, c. 20, as cited in Bingham's *Antiq. Book XX. c. 2, § 5*.

‡ *Μέγας ἀγωνιστής*. C. 58, p. 983.

forms a singular chapter in Christian history. Paul had spoken (1 Cor. ii. 7, 8) of the hidden wisdom of God, "*Which none of the rulers of this world knew, for if they had known it they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.*" The passage had no connection properly with the present subject, but the Fathers understood by the rulers of this world the powers of evil, who, they supposed, had been deceived as to the true character of Jesus.

Origen informs us: "The adverse powers, when they delivered the Saviour into the hands of men, did not perceive that he was delivered up for the salvation of any; but since none of them knew the '*wisdom of God concealed in a mystery*,' they so far as in their power delivered him to be killed, that his enemy Death might seize him for a subject, as he had seized those who died in Adam. But the MEN who killed him were prompted [or impressed, *τυπούμενοι*] by the will of those [the dæmons] who wished Jesus to become a subject of Death."*

By the '*wisdom of God concealed in a mystery*,' would seem to be meant, in this connection, a previously arranged plan of the Deity for misleading Satan. Origen, or the author of the Homilies on Luke ascribed to him, elsewhere alleges this intention of the Deity as the object of Mary's having been not only betrothed, but—as he understands Matthew—publicly united in marriage, to Joseph. "For if she had not had a betrothed one, and, as was commonly supposed, a husband, [the virginity of Mary] could not have been concealed from the Prince of this World. For immediately the thought would have silently suggested itself to the Devil, 'That offspring must be divine. It must be something above human nature.'

"On the other hand, the Saviour had arranged that the

* Comment. in Matt. Tom. XIII. 8, Opp., Vol. III. p. 582. A. B.

"Devil should be ignorant of his dispensation,* and assumption of a body. Therefore he concealed it at his birth, and afterwards commanded his disciples that they should not make him known; and when he was tempted by the Devil, he nowhere confessed himself the Son of God, but only answered, 'I ought not to adore you, nor to make those stones bread, nor to cast myself headlong,' and in saying these things was always silent as to his being the Son of God. Search also in the other portions of Scripture, and you will find it to have been Christ's will that the Devil should not know the coming of the Son of God. For the Apostle, asserting that the adverse powers were ignorant that he was to suffer, says, '*We speak wisdom, - - which none of the princes of this world knew, for if they had known it they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.*' - -

"But it may be objected that a dæmon did know it, — THAT ONE who said in the Gospel (Matt. viii. 29), '*Art thou come to torment us before our time? we know who thou art, the Son of God.*' But consider that it was an inferior in wickedness who recognized the Saviour. But he who is greater in wickedness, and a turncoat,† and thoroughly worthless, was prevented by the very superiority of his wickedness from knowing the Son of God."‡

* *Dispensationem*, not improbably a translation of *οἰκονομίαν*, the same word which will appear in extracts under this section from Justin Martyr and the *Doctrina Orientalis*, and which is used by Paul (Coloss. i. 25) in close connection with the mystery of which Origen in the preceding quotation gives us his interpretation. See also, in a note near the close of this section, the same connected use of Economy and Mystery in an extract from Ephes. iii. 9, 10.

† *Versipellis*. — Theophilus says that Satan was "called a dragon because he was a runaway from God," *Δράκων διὰ τὸ ἀποδεδρακέναι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ*. (Ad Autol. II. 28. 369. B. C.) Whether a kindred thought is contained in the above expression, I do not know.

‡ Hom. VI. in Luc., Origenis Opp., Vol. III. pp. 938, 939.

Both in the **Larger and Smaller Greek Epistles of Ignatius** is the following passage, which is referred to in the above connection.

"There was concealed from the Prince of this World the virginity of Mary, [the character of] her offspring, and likewise the death of the Lord [the fact that the Messiah was to die], the three mysteries of the cry * which transpired secretly." †

Irenæus shared in the view that the Devil had been deceived. "When the Devil," he says, "tempted (Jesus) by the remark, (Matt. iv. 3,) '*If thou art THE SON OF GOD, command these stones to be made bread,*' the Lord repelled him by the precept of the Law, saying, '*It is written, MAN does not live by bread alone.*' In reply to the remark, '*If thou art the Son of God,*' (Jesus) used this confession, appropriate to a MAN, which blinded him." ‡

Clement of Alexandria also, in elucidating the value of ambiguous language, illustrates it from the fact that "by an ambiguous expression the Lord outwitted (σοφίζεται) the Devil at the time of the temptation." ||

In the **Ascension of Isaiah**, the Pseudo-Prophet, speaking of the birth of Jesus, says, "I perceived - - that he was con-

* *Κραυγῆς*, an allusion probably to Hebrews v. 7, where Jesus is said to have asked deliverance from Death with a "*loud cry*," *κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς*. Only a mortal, it might be thought, would utter such a cry, and it implied the presence of death. Yet the Son of God could alone have uttered it with the hope of being heard. In the Addition to the Acts of Pilate, Satan is represented as saying of Jesus, "I know that he is a man, for I heard him say, '*My soul is greatly oppressed even to death.*'" Thilo, Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test. pp. 702-704.

† Ephesians, c. 19 (IV. 10). The Larger Epistles add, "but [which] are manifested to us." The Smaller ones read, "which were done secretly by God."

‡ Cont. Hæres. V. 21. 2.

|| Strom. I. 9, p. 342, lines 31-33.

"cealed from all the heavens, the principalities and the gods of this world."*

Justin Martyr may have had an analogous idea, but he expresses it less clearly. "The Messiah, this Son of God, who existed before the morning star [sun ?] and moon, yet being incarnated, endured to be born of this virgin from the race of David, that through this 'economy' the Serpent, who from the beginning [of the world ?] did wickedly, and the angels who have [since] become (or who are) like him, might be routed and Death be humbled, and at the second coming of Christ [at the beginning of the Millennium ?] wholly lose his power over those who [both] believe on him (Jesus) and live acceptably ; finally [after the Millennium ?] ceasing to exist, when some shall be sent for punishment to the condemnation of eternal fire, and others shall live together in a state of immortality free from suffering, corruption, and grief."†

Even in the opinions of the Theosophic Gnostics the idea exists of Death having been outwitted. "Death," the *Doctrina Orientalis* informs us, "was outmanœuvred by artifice, δολφ δὲ ὁ Θάνατος κατεστρατηγήθη, for when the body died,

* Ch. XI. 16.

† Dialog. c. 45, p. 141. B. C. — In c. 39 (p. 136. D), Justin says that the rulers "will not cease from killing and persecuting, through the influence of that wicked and deceitful spirit, the Serpent, such as confess the name of Christ, until he (Christ) shall again appear, and put an end to all, and apportion to each according to his deserts." The meaning of the passage in the text may be, that though Satan no longer gets possession of Christians so as to carry them to his realms, yet he has the power of persecuting them in this life. Or it may be as follows: Prior to Christ's advent, Satan as Lord of the Underworld held unlimited sway. Now he is humbled, yet he still obtains, not only unbelievers, but such CHRISTIANS as in his character of moral tempter he can mislead. At the Millennium, righteous Christians are to be assembled in Christ's kingdom and withdrawn from his temptations. He will wholly lose his power of carrying them to his dominions, for he shall not be allowed to mislead them. At the close of the Millennium, he will cease to exist.

“and Death was on the point of seizing him [i. e. the man Jesus], the [Æon] Saviour [who had previously left him and risen again], sending an avenging ray of his power, frightened Death away.”* And a prior chapter gives us as the reason for the Saviour’s injunction to his disciples, in descending from the mount of transfiguration, “‘Tell it to no one,’ lest, understanding what the Lord is, they should abstain from laying hands on the Lord, and the ‘Economy’ should be fruitless, and Death should abstain from the Lord, as [it would be] to no purpose to make an effort on a hopeless case.”†

In a work called *Extracts from the Prophetic Writings*, ‡ attributed to Clement of Alexandria, a somewhat fuller statement is made of the actual amount of knowledge which the Devil possessed. “The Devil knew that the Lord was to come, but whether this were he, || he did not know. Wherefore he tempted him that he might ascertain his power. ‘If,’ said he, and [then] left him for a season; that is, he deferred the discovery till the resurrection. For he knew that the one who should rise again was the Lord, as did also the Dæmons — for they suspected Solomon to be the Lord, but knew, on his committing sin, that he was not. . . . All the Dæmons knew that the Lord was he who should rise after suffering.” ¶

* C. 61, Clem. Opp., p. 984.

† Ibid. c. 5, p. 968.

‡ *Ex Scripturis Prophetis Eclogæ*. It will be referred to hereafter by the abbreviation *Eclog. Prophet.*

|| The word “God” introduced by Sylburg into the text from the margin of a previous edition, and copied by Potter, merely embarrasses the connection.

¶ C. 53, Clem. Opp., p. 1002. As the knowledge attributed to the dæmons in the above citation surpassed that which men had had, the writer adds what he probably intended for an explanation. “Enoch already informs us that the transgressing angels taught men astronomy, soothsaying, and the other arts.” Ibid. Compare Book of Enoch, Ch.

In the foregoing extract, the term "resurrection" includes probably every thing which pertained to the Saviour's breaking away from Death, — an extent of signification not uncommon * whilst the idea of an Underworld mission existed. The term "resurrection," however, is in Greek the same as "rising again," and one Catholic writer seems to have used it in this latter sense, as equivalent with the term "ascension," and to have connected it with the prevalent idea that Satan was the lord of this world, or prince of the powers of the air, who had placed his throne in the firmament.

The writer alluded to is the already quoted author of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, by whom the Deity is represented as saying to Christ, "Go, descend through all the heavens; descend to the firmament, and the world, even to the angel who is in Hell,† but who has not yet been hurled to utter perdition. Assimilate thyself - - - to the form of the angels of the firmament, and, carefully guarding thyself, be assimilated even to the angels who are in Hell. - - - When from the gods of death thou shalt ascend to thy own place, - - - then - - - shall the principalities and powers of the world worship thee."‡ And afterwards this Pseudo-Prophet remarks concerning the Saviour's ascension: "I beheld him

VIII. and LXVIII. According to this, they must have had superhuman means of knowledge. Others than this writer supposed them to have some inkling of Christianity prior to their expulsion or fall from heaven.

* See the third citation from Origen under Section VIII. The whole account of Christ's descent to the Underworld contained in the addition to the Acts of Pilate, bears in the Paris manuscript D, and perhaps in others, as its title, "The Resurrection." See Thilo, *Cod. Apoc.*, p. 606. Compare also the use of the term in a citation from the Church of England Homilies, to be given in Note G of the Appendix.

† The *Ascension of Isaiah* was translated by Laurence from an Ethiopic manuscript, the Ethiopic being no doubt a translation from the Greek, which is no longer extant. The word "Hell" in the English version of Laurence corresponds to "Inferos," Underworld, in his Latin rendering.

‡ Ch. X. 8, 9, 10, 14, 15.

"likewise in the firmament, where, as his form was not changed to theirs, all the angels of the firmament and Satan both perceived and worshipped him."*

A natural inference from the above would be, that its author distinguished Satan from the Angel of Death. This is possible. But the inconsistencies of the document in other respects are such as to render it probable that the extract, and considerable more to the same purpose not here cited, are the effort of an incoherent mind to elucidate popular views of Paul's language concerning principalities and powers,† in connection with Satan as prince of the powers of the air, and the concealment of Christ's descent and incarnation from him. The inconsistency of the Catholics—who placed Satan in the firmament as the God of this World, and at the same time located him in the Underworld as its lord—merely became more glaring when worked out by an incoherent mind. As the object of the writer was to make the Pseudo-Isaiah predict events which were regarded as having already occurred, it is not likely that he would advisedly make him predict things at variance with common belief.

* Ch. XI. 23.

† Phil. ii. 8-11, "*He humbled himself and became obedient unto death, and that the death of the cross. Wherefore God exalted him, - - that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow of those in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord.*" Eph. i. 18-21, "*That ye may know - - the working of his mighty power, which he manifested in Christ by raising him from the dead. And He placed him at His right hand in a heaven-high position far above all principality, and power, and lordship, and name.*" Eph. iii. 9, 10, "*The economy [οἰκονομία, the word used by Justin and the Doctrina Orientalis] of that secret which was hidden since the ages in God, the creator of all things [Griesbach omits διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ], that it may now be made known to the principalities and powers in heaven-high situations.*" The word "secret" scarcely expresses Paul's meaning, which would be still less conveyed by the rendering "mystery," adopted in the Common Version. The foregoing translation, however, expresses a common view of the Fathers, which, as the reader by a cursory examination can satisfy himself, was a very different one from Paul's.

§ XVIII. THE RANSOM.

1. DEFINITION OF TERMS.

AN offering is something which may be presented to a friend,* and there was no difficulty experienced by the Fa-

* This view, to a considerable extent, was blended by the Fathers with the idea of our self-sacrifice and Christ's self-sacrifice to God. Origen, after quoting from the beginning of the twelfth chapter of Romans, proceeds thus to comment on it: "Since, says (the Apostle), we have shown that fleshly sacrifices are to be given up, according to the words of the Prophet, '*Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not; nor are they pleasing to thee,*'—now I will teach you in what sacrifices God does delight. And these things I teach, not as commanding you,—for a legal command is unprofitable,—but as one who has undertaken the office of reconciling you to God. '*I beseech you, brothers,* and I beseech you not by the power, but '*by the mercy of God, - - - that you offer your bodies a living sacrifice, 'holy and well pleasing to God,'* that it may be '*your reasonable service.*' - - - For such as mortify their members - - - offer intelligently (or reasonably) a living sacrifice, holy and pleasing to God, and fulfil, according to its spiritual signification, that law concerning sacrifices which is laid down in Leviticus, - - - concerning each of which, when remarking on the book of Leviticus, we endeavored to explain according to our capacity. - - - The Apostle, therefore, not only teaches Christian believers to regulate their conduct and worship of God conformably to this, but even beseeches them by the mercy of God, in order thus to manifest that for the human race—prone as it is to fault—sacrifices of this kind have been provided by the commiseration of God, and that, if any of them should fall, the soul may be mended and restored to salvation, by a reasonable (or intelligent) offering, and by victims [appetites, passions, &c.] immolated in the manner that we have above described." Comment in Rom. Lib. IX. 1, Opp., Vol. IV. p. 643, Col. 1. B. C., Col. 2. A. B., p. 644. A. B.

The remarks on Leviticus above alluded to may be found in Hom. II. 4, Vol. II. pp. 190, 191. Elsewhere Origen seems to include under, and as a part of, this self-sacrifice, the immolation of Christ's body at the crucifixion. "The Saviour," he says, "was come into this world, that he might offer his flesh as a sacrifice to God for our sins. - - - As long as the flesh lusts in me against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, and I am

thers in regarding Christ or ourselves as competent to make an offering to God, our Father and Friend.

A Ransom, when not a metaphorical expression, as in the use of it by Justin,* is defined with sufficient accuracy by

"not yet able to subject the flesh to the spirit, I am subject indeed to God, but only in part, not wholly. . . . And, since we are all said to be HIS BODY and MEMBERS (1 Cor. vi. 15; xii. 27), so long as there are some among us who are not yet subjected with a perfect subjection, HE is spoken of [by the Apostle] as not subjected. But when he shall have consummated his work, and led his whole creation to the height of perfection, then he is regarded as subject in these whom he has rendered obedient to the Father, and in whom he has finished the work which his Father gave him to do, *that God may be all and in all.*" In Levit. Hom. VII. 1, 2, Opp., Vol. II. pp. 220. D., 221. E. F., 222. A. B.

The Epistle ascribed to Barnabas speaks of Jesus as offering "the vessel of his spirit for our sins," c. 7 (VI. 3), and in the same chapter (VI. 5), as offering his "flesh" for the "New People"; but the connection throws little light on it.

In the Adumbrations ascribed to Clement, is a quotation from 1 Peter i. 19, — omitting all mention of the "Ransom" which is found in the eighteenth verse, — "*With precious blood as of an uncontaminated and unspotted lamb.*" "This," says the writer, "refers to the old Levitical and sacerdotal rites, but signifies a soul purified by righteousness which is OFFERED TO GOD." Adumb. in Pet., p. 1006, lines 17–21. The writer obviously regards the sacrifice as an offering, not as a ransom.

Cyprian quotes Psalm li. 17, "*The sacrifice to God is a broken spirit. A contrite and humble spirit God does not despise*"; and says, "This sacrifice you offer to God. This sacrifice you perform without intermission day and night, being yourselves made sacrifices to God. . . . As the Apostle exhorts, . . . *'I beseech you, brothers, by the mercy of God, that you constitute your bodies a living sacrifice, holy and pleasing to God,'* . . . in this way by greater deserts our works tend to the deserving God's good will." Epist. 86, p. 232.

Arnobius deems the "reliable gifts and true sacrifices" to be "views worthy and consonant to the divine nature, — *Diis dignas et eorum convenientissimas nomini.*" Adv. Gent. VII. 51, with which may be compared the unworthiness of other sacrifices in chapters 5, 6, 7, of the same book.

* See his use of the term "Ransomer" in a note under § IX., where it must mean one who redeems by his power. The Valentinians, according

Origen as "a gift to enemies given by the conquered, or by their leader, for the preservation and liberation of those who have been taken captive."*

After a perusal of the two foregoing sections, it would scarcely be supposed that any who held the views there developed would regard Christ as having paid a ransom for mankind to their enemy and tyrant. Yet such is the view which is now to come before us.

2. WHAT WAS THE RANSOM?

In the First Epistle to Peter it is said, "*Ye were ransomed . . . by the precious blood . . . of Christ.*"†

Before proceeding to the interpretations put upon this passage, it is requisite to state that the soul or life — both being expressed by the same word in Greek — was formerly regarded as in the blood. Thus Tacitus, in narrating the death of Lucanus, who was executed apparently by the then not uncommon method of bleeding, says, that, "as the blood flowed, he perceived his feet and hands to be growing cold, and his spirit to be retreating by degrees from the extremities, whilst his breast as yet remained warm and in possession of his mind."‡ And again concerning Paulina, the wife of Seneca, who had bled nearly to death, the same writer remarks, — referring, as the connection would indicate, to a period some years afterwards, — "Her countenance and limbs were so blanched as to render it obvious that much of the vital spirit had been emptied out."||

to the old Latin translation of Irenæus (I. 2, 4), and according to Tertullian (Adv. Valentin. c. 9, p. 293. D.), used the name "Ransomer" for the same Æon who was also called Vindicator (see note appended to the extract from Arnobius under § XXII. 3), and they no doubt connected it with the idea of redemption by power. Several of their Æons received appellations from the names or attributes of Christ as used or understood by the Catholics.

* Comment in Ps. xxxiii. (xxxiv. 22), Opp., Vol. II. p. 649. C.

† Ch. i. 18, 19.

‡ Annals XV. 70.

|| Ibid. XV. 64.

Occasion will arise for introducing one or two other passages * based on this idea, and at the foot of the page will be found an instance of the systematic manner in which Origen carried it out.†

On the above-cited passage from the First Epistle of Peter, Origen comments as follows : " If therefore we were bought with a price, - - - we were bought doubtless from some one whose slaves we were, and who demanded such a price as he pleased for the release of those whom he held. It was the Devil, however, who held us, to whom we had been allotted (or into whose power we had been dragged), by our sins. He therefore demanded as our price the blood of Christ." ‡

And again : " We were bought with the precious blood of Jesus. The SOUL of the Son of God was given as our ransom ; but not his spirit, for he had already committed that to his Father, saying, *'Father, into thy hands I commend my*

* See in Appendix, under Note B, the extracts from the Adumbrations and the Philosophumena.

† In Origen's work De Principiis, II. 8. 1, he quotes Leviticus xvii. 14, " You shall not eat the blood, because the life (or soul) of ALL flesh is its blood, and you shall not eat the soul with the flesh," and remarks that in this passage " the blood of ALL animals is most obviously declared to be their soul." (Vol. I. p. 94. B.) He explains that in insects usually deemed bloodless, the humor has the same force as the red blood, and constitutes the vital substance. Touching Christ, he argues that his incarnation implied a (human) soul, distinct from the divine nature, — " For since he had real flesh [which of course implied blood], he also had a real soul. As to the mention in the Scriptures concerning the soul of God, (Lev. xxvi. 11, 30), it is difficult to apprehend or communicate how it should be understood, for we have once professed his nature to be simple and without any admixture. Yet in whatever manner it is to be apprehended, the soul of God seems sometimes to be mentioned. Concerning Christ there is no doubt, and therefore it does not appear to me absurd to say or believe something of the same kind concerning the holy angels and other celestial powers." Ibid. II. 8. 2, p. 94. B. C.

‡ In Rom. Lib. II. 13, Vol. IV. p. 495. C. D.

“‘*spirit*’; nor yet his body, for we nowhere find any such thing written of him. . . .

“And here I would admonish of their error those who, from a conceit of glorifying Christ, confound what pertains to the First-born of the whole creation with what refers to the soul and body of Jesus, or perhaps to his spirit; regarding what was seen and dwelt in this life as wholly one and uncompounded. For they inquire of us, ‘Was the Divinity which inhered in the Image of the invisible God,—was the supereminence of the First-born of the whole creation,—was he through whom all things were created in heaven and on earth, visible or invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers,—was HE given as a ransom? . . . and to whom was he given? . . . To an enemy who held us as captives until the ransom was paid?’ And was that enemy competent to exact such a ransom?’

“Nor do I say these things as despising the SOUL of Jesus, or making it of small account. I only contend that IT was the ransom given by the WHOLE Saviour. But his exalted and divine nature could in no wise be given as a ransom. . . . And his body, as a superfluity,—if we may thus style it,—constituted (or belonged to) that whole which [we read of], 1 Cor. vi. 17, ‘*He who is joined to the Lord is ONE spirit.*’”*

It is maintained in the extract just given, that the body of Jesus formed no part of the ransom. This was probably an expression of dissent from some of the Orthodox, who maintained that it was;—that it had been given in exchange for our bodies. Origen, and the school to which he belonged, would not have thought our bodies worth ransoming. They deemed us well rid of them at death. On this point they differed little if at all from the Gnostics. The Orthodox maintained the restoration of our former bodies as all important.

* Comment. in Matt. Tom. XVI. 8, Opp., Vol. III. pp. 726, 727.

Tertullian argued, that as the body shared with the soul the duties and privations of this life and the sufferings of martyrdom, it was not fair to separate them in the future reward.*

Now **Irenæus**, in treating of Death as swallowed up in victory, speaks of the flesh as "in a certain manner under the "dominion of Death"; † and he no doubt speaks from the same point of view in affirming, touching the Ransom, that "the "Lord gave his soul for our souls, and his flesh for our "fleshes, τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀντὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων σαρκῶν," ‡ and finds in this another allusion, as he thinks, to the old dispensation. "For (Christ) would not have had real flesh and blood "wherewith to buy us out, unless he had been recapitulating "in himself [the circumstances of] the old formation in "Adam." || "And since the Apostate acquired his mastery "over us unjustly," Irenæus finds an antithesis in the conduct of "The Word," who "behaved justly even to the "Apostate, redeeming from him his own [those who believed "on him], not by force, as he originally mastered us when "he seized rapaciously what was not his, but by persuasion "and as became a divine being (*Deum*), persuading him "without violence to accept what he (?) wished." ¶

This is not very consistent with the same writer's statement that the Word had bound the Apostate, plundered his goods, and JUSTLY taken him captive. It, however, afforded several new antitheses, which probably absorbed the attention of Irenæus. If he perceived any of his own incongruities, he must have preferred leaving their solution to others, for he has not attempted it himself.

In the first—the only genuine—epistle of **Clement of Rome** is a statement corresponding in phraseology with one of those quoted from Irenæus. Only a single, and evidently

* De Resurrect. Carnis, c. 8, pp. 384, 385.

† "Quæ et quodam dominio Mortis pressa est." Adv. Hæres. V. 13. 3.

‡ Ibid. V. 1. 1.

|| Ibid. V. 1. 2.

¶ Ibid. V. 1. 1.

an interpolated, manuscript of this epistle exists in the original, nor has any ancient translation been preserved which might aid in eliminating from it later additions. Clement lived before the Gnostic controversy, during or after which I suppose the passage included in brackets to have been added. "In love the Master assumed our cause. From the love which he had for us, Jesus Christ our Lord, in accordance with God's will, gave his blood for us [even his flesh for our flesh, and his soul for our souls]. See, beloved, how great and wonderful is love." *

Certullian says that Christ "died . . . on account of the Church, that he might commute body for body, the fleshly for the spiritual," † that is, that he might give his physical body for the Church, which in a metaphorical or spiritual sense was termed his body. Elsewhere he speaks of Christ as the "Redeemer of the flesh." ‡

3. WHY SATAN ACCEPTED IT.

It might seem that a single human body or soul, or both united, would be but a poor indemnification to Satan for losing the souls of mankind, yet none of the Fathers — in the period at least under consideration — have attempted to explain his willingness to receive it.

There is another difficulty, however, lying on the face of the views which have been presented, namely, that Satan did not retain possession even of this soul. The solution — such as it is — of this difficulty must be found in the fact that Christ's incarnation had been concealed from Satan, and in the explanation presented by the following passage. "To whom," says Origen, "did (Christ) give his soul as a ransom for many? Not, of course, to God. || Was it then to

* CC. 49, 50 (XXI. 7, 8).

† Adv. Marcion. V. 19, p. 613. C.

‡ De Resurrect. Carnis, c. 2, p. 380. A.

|| Some language of the Fathers might, if uttered by a modern divine,

"the Evil One? [Certainly,] for he held us in his power
 "until the soul of Jesus should be given him as our ransom,
 "—he being deceived by the supposition that he could hold
 "it in subjection, and not perceiving that it must be retained
 "at the cost of torture which he could not endure.* Where-
 "fore Death, thinking to have become already his master, is
 "his master no longer, he being rendered '*free among the*
 "'*dead,*' stronger than the power of Death; and so much
 "stronger, that of those whom Death had overcome all who
 "wished could follow him, Death no longer availing any thing
 "against them; for whoever is with Jesus is free from seiz-
 "ure by Death, ἀνεπιληπτός ἐστι τῷ θανάτῳ. †

It was with a feeling of disappointment and regret that I perused for the first time the above passage in a writer whose wildest fancies are usually tinged with moral beauty. He is not the only individual, who, in attributing to one of the Saviour's natures what could not have been promised, performed, or affirmed by the other, has clouded the Saviour's character with the appearance of deceit.

seem to imply a belief in the Vicarious Atonement,—in a satisfaction made to God. But so far at least as concerns those who lived in the second and third centuries, I believe that, in any instance where they have explained their own meaning, such a sense could not be forced into it. Hagenbach, whose Doctrinal History is entitled to a foremost rank among works of its kind, who, to quote from the title-page of his "Church History of the 18th and 19th Centuries," writes from the point of view of "Evangelical Protestantism," and from his remarks on the Socinians in his Doctrinal History (Vol. II. § 268, 2d edit.) appears to lay stress on the Atonement,—Hagenbach states that in Tertullian, who first uses the term "satisfaction," this expression has a sense the reverse of "vicarious," that Tertullian uses it "of those who by confession and active repentance make reparation for their own sins." See his Doctrinal History, 2d edit., Vol. I. § 68, and note 5.

* Christ, it will be remembered, descended "to wrestle with the powers there as their master." The only natural sense of the passage above is that Satan found his "wrestler's grasp" unendurable.

† Comment. in Matt. Tom. XVI. 8, Opp., Vol. III. p. 726. A. B.

§ XIX. RECONCILIATION TO GOD.

THE Fathers regarded our sins as the means by which the dæmons obtained dominion over us. They also regarded these dæmons as the prompters of our sinful inclinations. Whilst misled into sin by the agency of these dæmons, we were of course alienated from God. If Christ by a victory had inspired terror into the powers of darkness, or by a ransom to their prince had bought them off, so that they were willing to let his followers alone, the natural inference would be, that Christians need no longer be alienated from God. They could return to him.

The whole history of the Christians evinces, that any expressions which indicate their having been ransomed or won from the powers of darkness must be taken with considerable allowance.* Yet they do treat themselves as peculiarly exempt from influences of the dæmons,† and though not always defi-

* A volume might be filled with their ideas of the contest which was still going on. The following may not be uninteresting to the reader as a specimen of views entertained by a spiritually-minded man concerning the moral conflict of Christians. Clement of Alexandria, speaking of the "spiritual powers against which we wrestle," says: "For I think that it is an occupation of the maleficent powers, that they endeavor to infuse their own disposition into every thing, so that they may throw down and gain possession of us who have renounced them. It naturally follows that some get thrown down. But as often as men grapple more athletically in the conflict, the aforesaid powers fighting an all-powerful battle, and advancing even to the crown, then give out covered with 'bloody dust' (ἐν πολλῇ τῇ λύθρῳ), and wondering at the victors." Strom. Lib. II. 20, p. 487. A similar passage occurs, Strom. VII. 3, p. 839, lines 40-45.

† Even the Theosophic Gnostics held that after baptism the evil spirits "trembled before him on whom but a little previously they operated." Doct. Orient. c. 77, p. 987. Knowledge, their own peculiar privilege, produced the same effect. Ibid. c. 78.

nite, and sometimes perhaps inconsistent, as to the manner in which Christ had effected this, there are passages in which this moral exemption is connected with Christ's Victory or Ransom, and in some of them our own service of God or reunion with him is blended into the conception.

Origen, or the author of the Homilies on Luke ascribed to him, quotes from Luke (i. 69-71), "*He has raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of David his son, as he spoke by the mouth of the holy prophets, — a salvation from our enemies,*" and continues his comments and quotations thus: "Let us not now think that mention is made of physical, but of spiritual enemies. For the Lord Jesus came '*mighty in battle,*'* to destroy all our enemies, that he might free us from their snares, — '*from the hand of our enemies and the hand of those who hate us.*'

"'*To perform mercy to our fathers.*' I think that, at the advent of the Lord, our Saviour, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob enjoyed God's mercy. . . .

"We were not sensible of our enemies, nor did we perceive them fighting against us, but unconsciously (*nescimus quomodo*) we were rescued from their jaws and snares in a moment, and suddenly, and he transferred us into the inheritance and lot of the just. And we were '*freed from the hand of our enemies without fear* THAT WE MIGHT SERVE GOD IN HOLINESS AND RIGHTEOUSNESS BEFORE HIM ALL OUR DAYS.'"†

Irenæus had apparently a similar conception floating before his mind, together with that of a release from the Under-

* An allusion to Ps. xxiv. 8. Jesus being regarded, according to a common conception, as the special Deity of the Old Testament. See Appendix, Note A.

† In Lucam Hom. A, Vol. III. p. 943. I follow the Latin translation, suspecting that many of the Greek fragments collected by Grabe and Combefisius may be restatements merely of the same ideas by other hands, with no effort to copy verbally.

world, in a passage already quoted: "By a man (i. e. by a "human Christ) it was proper that he (the apostate angel), "when conquered, should be bound, - - - THAT MAN, BEING "FREED, SHOULD RETURN TO HIS GOD."*

The Epistle ascribed to **Barnabas** tells us: "It is written "in what manner the Father commanded him (Christ) that, "RANSOMING US FROM DARKNESS, HE SHOULD PREPARE FOR "HIMSELF A HOLY PEOPLE. For the Prophet says (Is. xlii. "6, 7), '*I the Lord thy God have called thee in righteous- "ness, - - - and will strengthen thee, - - - to open the eyes of "the blind, to lead out the bond from their fetters, and such "as sit in darkness out of the prison-house.*' Know there- "fore whence we were ransomed."† If the ransom from darkness be not a mere figure of speech, it must mean from the Powers or Prince of Darkness. The last part of the quotation from Isaiah may have been understood by the writer as referring to the release of the departed from the Underworld. He believed Christ's Underworld Mission,‡ and that the Saviour had ransomed us from Death.||

According to **Justin**, "The offering of wheat-flour - - - "for those purified from leprosy was a type of the Eucha- "ristical [thank-offering] bread, which Jesus Christ our Lord "gave us to partake of in remembrance of the suffering "which he suffered for such as are purified in their souls "from all wickedness, that we may at the same time thank "God, both for the creation of the world and all things in it, "on man's account, and for our liberation from the evil in "which we were, and for the overthrow of the 'Powers and "Authorities' [the evil spirits], with a perfect overthrow, "through him who, in accordance with his will, became sub- "ject to suffering."¶ The connection between Christ's suf- fering and this liberation Justin does not explain.

* Cont. Hæres. V. 21. 3.

† C. 14 (XII. 20-22).

‡ See § VI.

|| See § XXII. 4.

¶ Dialog. c. 41, p. 137. D. E. In a preceding chapter (c. 39, p. 136.

Tertullian appears to identify the purchase of man FROM HIS SINS with the ransom paid in the Underworld. After speaking of Christ's sufferings and death, he adds: "All this that we might be bought FROM OUR SINS. The sun disappeared on the day of our purchase. Our emancipation took place in the Underworld and our stipulated price is in heaven (*apud inferos emancipatio nostra est et stipulatio nostra in cælis*). The eternal gates were lifted up that the King of Glory might enter, — the Lord of Hosts, who had bought man from the earth, nay, from the Underworld, into heaven. . . . And the Lord ransomed him from the angels, — the world-ruling powers, — from the spirits of wickedness, [and as a consequent] from the darkness of this age, from eternal judgment, from perpetual death." *

Elsewhere, if I understand him, he directly connects the liberation from Satan or his angels with reconciliation to God. Opposing Marcion's idea of another Deity than the Creator, Tertullian asks: "To whom does (Christ) reconcile all things, making peace by the blood of his cross, unless to Him whom all things had offended, against whom they had rebelled through the promptings of the transgressing angel (or angels), WHOSE THEY LATELY WERE." †

B. C.) Justin interprets Psalm lxviii. 18, — "*He ascended on high, he led captive the captives,*" — as a prediction that the Christians should be "led captive" out of their error or wandering (*πλάνης*, the same word which after a few lines Justin connects as an adjective with Satan, the author of it). Whether this excludes any application by him of the same passage to the release of the departed from the Underworld, or whether the release of both living and dead from Satan's power were identified in Justin's mind as parts of man's liberation, is not a question to be pronounced upon positively. I incline to the latter idea, as most consonant with the views of the age.

* De Fuga in Persecut. c. 12, p. 697. D.

† Adv. Marcion, V. 19, p. 613. B. *Per transgressionem cujus novissime fuerant*. Tertullian uses "the Transgression" for the transgressing angel (or angels), in the same manner as Irenæus uses "the Apostasy," Apo-

The reader may wish also to exercise his own judgment as to whether the idea of reconciliation, in the following passage from *Cyprian*, be intended as the effect of what precedes it, or whether it merely stand in juxtaposition therewith. Speaking of immortality, he treats it as a favor which Christ confers "by subjecting Death to the trophy of his cross, by ransoming the believer at the price of his blood, by reconciling man to God, by vivifying mortality with a celestial regeneration."*

To preserve unity of translation, I have used the word "ransom" in the foregoing extracts, where sometimes, perhaps, the writer thought of a "redemption" effected by force. We have already seen that Justin connects the idea of power with the term "Ransomer," in a passage which the reader would do well to compare with the present head.†

§ XX. DISCOMFORTS OF THE UNDERWORLD.

THE Heathen conception of an Underworld was far from cheerful. Even its abodes for the innocent‡ were but a miserable exchange for this life.

stasia for the apostate angel, Lib. V. 1, 1. So in 1 Pet. i. 1, *διασπορά*, "the Dispersion," means the dispersed Jews, and in Eph. iv. 8 "the Captivity" means the captives.

* Ad. Demet. p. 196. On the vivifying of mortality, see Appendix, Note B.

† See note to the extract from Justin, under § IX.

‡ These must not be confounded with Elysium, otherwise called the Elysian Fields. According to Smith's Classical Dictionary, Article Elysium: "In Homer (Od. IV. 563), Elysium forms no part of the realms of the dead; he places it on the west of the earth, near Ocean, and describes it as a happy land, where there is neither snow, nor cold, nor rain, and always fanned by the delightful breezes of Zephyrus. Hither favored heroes, like Menelaus, pass WITHOUT DYING, and live happy

In a somewhat copious account of the Lower Regions given us by Virgil in the sixth book of his *Æneid*, we are told: "The next localities [after those allotted to such as have "been unjustly put to death] are inhabited by the afflicted, "who in innocence destroyed themselves, and, sick of the "light, threw away their own life. How gladly would they "now endure poverty and severe labor [provided it were] in "upper air!"*

The Christians who installed Satan as ruler of the Underworld did not certainly add to its attractions as a residence; yet it may be doubted whether his presence increased their conceptions of its gloom. In fact, the distinction in it between Abraham's bosom and the abode of the wicked, though theologically recognized by Christians, seems to have been merged in the generally desolate and dreary ideas of the whole region.†

"under the rule of Rhadamanthys. The Elysium of Hesiod and [that of] Pindar are in the Isles of the Blessed (*μακάρων νῆσοι*) which they "placed in the Ocean. . . . The Elysium of Virgil is part of the lower "world, and the residence of THE SHADES of the Blessed." This last statement needs modification. The Elysian fields are, indeed, according to Virgil, the temporary abode of a few from among the dead (*pauci læta arva tenemus*, VI. 744) who have been put through a kind of purgatory or purifying process (Book VI. 736 - 743); but as Æneas and his companions, after traversing the Underworld, pass through the gateway that leads to them, "they recognize their own sun and their own stars" (VI. 641). Whence these fields would seem to be in upper air. And since Æneas, on issuing from the ivory door of these fields, "cuts his way to the ships" (VI. 899), Virgil perhaps endeavored to preserve former conceptions by placing them on the shores of Italy (where the convenience of his tale required them) as most analogous to the shores of the Atlantic. He wished to place Anchises in them, and, unless he defied all tradition, had to do this by making them the abode, not of those who had been exempt from death, but of such as had passed through death.

* Book VI. 434 - 437.

† Beausobre overlooks this fact, as well as falls into some other errors in his remarks concerning Marcion's view of Christ's Underworld mission, which may be found in *Histoire du Manichéisme*, Vol. II. p. 112. He,

Clement of Alexandria, alluding to the despair, not of the wicked, but of the good below, — the despair of those who afterwards heartily accepted the Master's teaching as soon as proffered, — speaks of them "as having given themselves up to destruction with the feeling of a man who voluntarily flings himself overboard into the sea." * And the passage already quoted from the **Writer to the Hebrews** can hardly be interpreted in a natural manner without implying this extremity of dread at the idea of consignment to the "kingdom of Death." Christ partook of our nature, "*that through his death he might destroy him who has the dominion of death, that is, the Devil, and [thereby] free as many as were subjected to a slavery during their whole lives by their fear of Death.*" †

The lines of Watts, applied to such a futurity, would become more intelligible than if understood of any thing which he himself can have been supposed to believe : —

" But darkness, Death (?), and long despair
Reign in unbroken silence there."

It was an hereafter which not only failed to buoy or sustain, but which oppressed the soul.

Certullian, at the date of his tract *De Anima*, maintained that, prior to the resurrection, Christians themselves, excepting martyrs, were not exempt from the Underworld. In that treatise, therefore, he might have been expected to bring into strong light the distinction between Abraham's bosom and the place of the wicked, a distinction which he himself held. Yet, in that very tract, when his opponents exclaim, "What difference is there then between Heathens and Christians if the same prison awaits both?" ‡ — he does not attempt to

however, is more successful than Mosheim in seizing Marcion's point of view.

* Strom. VI. 6, p. 763.

† Ch. ii. 14, 15.

‡ *De Anima*, c. 55, p. 353. C.

discriminate between their respective abodes, but argues that martyrs only enter Paradise, and concludes: "Recognize, therefore, a difference in death between the heathen and believer in case you lay down your life for God, - - - not in gentle fevers and in bed, but in tortures."*

The Underworld is treated in the first of these extracts as a prison, and in this light Tertullian seems to have been fond of identifying it with the prison mentioned by the Saviour, Matt. v. 26. He alludes in one passage to the Second Coming of Christ, which Christians deemed close at hand, and to the change which, in accordance with 1 Cor. xv. 52, the living were then to experience, and exclaims, "Who is there that will not desire, while yet in the flesh, to put on immortality, and [simply] to continue his life, - - - so as not to experience [a confinement in] the Underworld, where even "*the last farthing will be exacted.*"†

Elsewhere he expresses an analogous idea, in a passage which is curious both as a specimen of interpretation and morality; for since Tertullian held to a SIMULTANEOUS resurrection, it implies that the good, or the less faulty, were, by the "delay of the resurrection," to be detained in prison whilst the last farthing was being exacted from their companions. "If," says he, "the mention of an adversary in the accompanying observation [*Agree with thine adversary*] be understood of the Devil, you will be admonished to enter into that concord with him also, which results from fidelity to your agreement. For you have agreed to renounce him and his pomp and his angels. This was the agreement between you. Mutual friendship depends on your keeping your pledge, and not resuming afterwards any of his things which you have forsworn,— which you have returned to him, lest he present you to God the judge as a

* De Anima, c. 55, p. 353. D.

† De Resurrect. c. 42, p. 410. B.

“ defrauder and transgressor of your agreement, - - - and the
“ judge deliver thee to the executing angel, and he commit
“ thee to the Underworld prison, whence you shall not be dis-
“ missed until every trifling fault be discharged by a delay of
“ the resurrection. What can be more suitable than this
“ meaning ? What truer than this interpretation ? ” *

The reader, probably, will have already inferred that thoughts of consignment to the Underworld were not peculiarly pleasing either to those — the mass of Christians — whose theology exempted them from, or to those — the few exceptions — whose theology subjected them to it. He will also be prepared to comprehend why one class of Catholics,† who were deterred by the fear of heresy from sending Christians to heaven at death, might be deterred by popular feeling from sending them to the Underworld, and be left in perplexity as to how they should dispose of them.

§ XXI. LOCALITY OF PARADISE.

1. OBJECT OF THE INQUIRY.

THE unanimity of the Early Christians in never turning their eyes to the Underworld as a locality for Paradise, will have some bearing on an argument yet to be offered for the genuineness of the Gospels. The frequency with which it was located in heaven may explain the fact, that that portion of the Catholics‡ who feared to send the righteous either to Heaven or the Underworld at death, did not in a body fall back upon Paradise as a substitute. The words of Paul (2 Cor. xii. 4) and common opinion gave such support to its

* De Anima, c. 35, p. 338. C. D.

† See § XXII. 4.

‡ See § XXII. 4.

heavenly locality, as to make them afraid of countenancing heresy if they sent believers thither before the resurrection.

That Paradise was never located by the Early Christians in the Underworld, I should have deemed too obvious for argument, were not the contrary advanced in such a work as the Doctrinal History of Crusius and Hase,* and partially countenanced by what appears to have been an oversight or misconception of Huet and Muenscher.†

* Baumgartenn Crusius, in his text-book of Doctrinal History, states "that Paradise and Heaven were constantly distinguished [from each other]," referring for his authority to "Cyril of Jerusalem and others, as Origen." See note on p. 1301. In his later work, the Compendium of Doctrinal History, he says, "Paradise became gradually elevated in glory (*verklaert*) from a locality of the Underworld to a situation in heaven." Vol. II. p. 388. He wrote the text to this volume without the notes, which, with the exception of the first few pages, were subjoined after his death by Hase. The note of Hase on this last quotation is as follows: "Paradise, in the history of Church opinions, has experienced more wanderings than the Holy House of Loretto. According to Hebrew conceptions, a portion of the earth; according to comparisons with Elysium, a constituent part of the Underworld; gradually elevated into heaven; then, especially by the mystics of the Middle Ages, completely called in question as a locality, and conceived of as a spiritual condition." Vol. II. note C. on p. 388. Tertullian, it may be remarked, is the only writer of the first three centuries, unless some passage have escaped me, who compares Paradise with the Elysian fields, and in the passage where this occurs, he places it on earth, not in the Underworld.

† Huet in his *Origeniana*, Lib. II. c. xi. Quæst. 12, makes an imperfect quotation from Origen (In Numeros Homil. XXVI. 4, Opp., Vol. II. p. 372. C.), and has misled himself and Muenscher into the opinion that Paradise is there confounded with Abraham's bosom, the latter of which localities is commonly placed in the Underworld. In the passage in question Origen speaks of the soul at death as "transferred to the next life (or world, *aliud seculum*) which is denominated either Abraham's bosom - - - or Paradise, - - - or [by the titles of] any other places or mansions known perchance to God, through which the soul that trusts in God passes, until it comes to the river which makes glad the city of God." He is speaking, as it would seem, of distinct localities.

The identification of Paradise and Abraham's bosom thus erroneously

In the Greek translation of Genesis, the term "Paradise" corresponds to the English rendering *garden* (ch. ii. 8), and would naturally convey the idea of an earthly locality. The language of Paul (2 Cor. xii. 4) suggests a heavenly one.* Some Christians adopted the one theory, some the other, some were enabled by their theology to adopt both. Irenæus may have tried to stand on middle ground, and Tertullian was bold enough to defy all common opinions when it suited his convenience.

2. TWOFOLD THEORY.

Origen, following out, perhaps, his system concerning the twofold sense of Scriptures, believed in a heavenly and an earthly Paradise. The former he located in the THIRD heaven, for he affirms that Paul heard in the third heaven what, according to his own quotation immediately preceding,

attributed to Origen, is by Beausobre, in his valuable History of Manichæism (Vol. II. p. 112), ascribed to the Fathers without especial limitation, and without any reference to support it. Beausobre's work is suggestive, and, on most points, richly supplied with references, but his statements are not to be received without examination. Whoever reads his remarks on the above-cited page concerning Hades, Tartarus, Paradise, and Abraham's bosom, will find errors enough in two or three sentences to evince the need of caution while perusing him.

Tertullian, who in one work likens Paradise to the Elysian fields, (Apol. c. 47), in another (Adv. Marcion. IV. 34), both of which will hereafter be quoted, likens Abraham's bosom to the same locality. In either case he means a locality outside of the Underworld. — See the fourth division of this, and the fifth of the twenty-second section.

* The language of Paul implies a prior belief among the Jews, or among some of them, that Paradise was in heaven. Without this the Apostle would hardly have been understood. The same is corroborated, moreover, by one of Wetstein's quotations appended to Luke xxiii. 43: "Chagiga, fol. 14. 2. 'Four have entered Paradise by the hand of God.' " Schol. 'Not that they in fact ascended, but they seemed to themselves "to ascend.'"

he heard in Paradise.* In this Paradise Adam had originally been. "The Lord God," says Origen, "cast him out of Paradise and placed him on this earth over against the Paradise of delights, and this was the punishment of his fault, which has certainly passed upon all men. For we are all formed in this place of humiliation [the earth], and valley of tears; whether because all who have been born from Adam were in his loins and were ejected equally with himself, or whether in some inexplicable manner, known to God alone, each individual [Origen believed the pre-existence of souls] has been cast out and received condemnation."†

Elsewhere he says: "Who is so silly as to believe that God, like a human farmer, planted Paradise [a garden] in Eden towards the east, and put a visible and perceptible tree of life in it, so that any one by eating of this tree should partake [of the knowledge] of good and evil?"‡

Of the earthly Paradise he says: "I think that whoever departs this life in holiness will remain in a certain place on earth which the Scriptures call Paradise, as in a place of instruction, and, if I may so express it, a school for souls, in which they are taught concerning all things that they have seen on earth, and receive certain hints also of the future. . . . If any one is clean in heart, and particularly pure in mind and quick in the use of his faculties (*exercitior sensu*), he will depart at an earlier day, and ascend without delay to the region of the air (*aeris locum*), and will [finally] arrive at the kingdom of the heavens, by passing through the mansions, if I may so express myself, of the several localities which the Greeks call spheres, (that

* Fragmenta, Vol. IV. p. 694. A. Compare Ad. Martyr. 13, Opp., Vol. I. p. 282. E.

† Comment in Rom. Lib. V. 4, Opp., Vol. IV. p. 556. A. B. Compare p. 546. A.

‡ De Principiis, IV. II. 16, Opp., Vol. I. p. 175.

“is, globes,*) but which the divine Scripture names heavens.
 “ - - - The Saviour alludes to these diverse localities when he
 “says (John xiv. 2), ‘*In my Father’s house are many man-*
 “‘*sions.*’”†

Marcion was no advocate of double senses in Scripture, yet he seems to have believed in a celestial and terrestrial Paradise. According to Tertullian, “He treats every question concerning Paradise”;‡ but as Tertullian’s object was to ridicule rather than to state Marcion’s opinion, it is only by an eductive process that we can attain it. A preparatory remark or two may assist us in effecting this. The superterrestrial system of Marcion, unlike that of the Valentinians, did not extend beyond the heavens, of which he seems to have numbered but three,—a number probably adopted from Paul’s words (2 Cor. xii. 4).|| In the third heaven—to which it will be remembered that Paul was caught up—dwelt the Supreme Deity and Christ. Tertullian quotes the opinion of Marcion, that from love of man Christ “descended from the third heaven.”¶ And again, after quoting his view that one who from the course of argument must be the Supreme Deity had “his own world and his own heaven,” he adds, “But we shall see about THAT THIRD HEAVEN when we come to discuss your copy of the Epistles.”** The heaven of the Creator was a lower one. According to the same writer, Marcion “maintains that he (Christ) in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius descended into Capernaum, a city of Galilee,—of course from the heaven of

* An addition, no doubt, of the Latin translator.

† De Principiis, II. xi. 6, Vol. I. p. 106. F. A. B.

‡ Adv. Marcion. V. 12, p. 600. B.

|| See Appendix, Note C.

¶ “Considera hominem - - - hoc opus dei nostri, quod tuus dominus - - - adamavit, propter quem - - - de tertio cœlo descendere laboravit.” Adv. Marcion. I. 14, p. 439. D.

** Ibid. I. 15, p. 440. B.

"the Creator, into which he had previously descended from his own, so that in proper order his descent ought first to have been described out of his own heaven into that of the Creator." *

The Creator's Paradise must, according to Marcion, have been on earth,† and the one to which Paul was carried — the Paradise of the Supreme Deity — must have been above the Creator, for Tertullian ridicules the unwillingness of Marcion to consider the Supreme Deity as using what belonged to the other. He asks "whether (the Supreme) God could not have a Paradise of his own upon earth, without obtaining the use of the Creator's [for the interview with Paul] by way of a favor."‡ A probable conjecture is that Marcion located the heavenly Paradise in the third heaven.

3. PARADISE IN HEAVEN.

Tertullian represents opponents as maintaining the soul's

* Adv. Marcion. IV. 7, pp. 506. D., 507. A. So too in another place, "If he (the Supreme Deity) has his own world below him and above the Creator, he must have made it in the vacant space between his feet and the Creator's head." Ibid. I. 15, p. 440. C.

† Marcion did not regard matter, which he deemed self-existent, as a suitable substance out of which to form anything very perfect. He maintained, according to Theodoret, that the Creator "from the purest of it had formed the heaven, from the remainder the four elements, and from the dregs Hades and Tartarus. And again, sifting out the purest of the earth, he prepared Paradise." Theodoret, Hæret. Nugæ, I. 24, Vol. IV. p. 158.

‡ Adv. Marcion. V. 12, p. 600. B. Tertullian in the same passage carries out his ridicule of this scrupulous non-appropriation of what belonged to the Creator, by alluding to Paul's words, 2 Cor. xii. 7, 8: "*There was given me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me. . . . I besought the Lord thrice that it might depart from me.*" He remarks: "I wonder that your excellent Lord . . . should cuff his own apostle by a messenger of the Creator's Satan rather than by one of his own." Marcion, it will be remembered (see § XIV.), regarded Satan as an angel — a fallen one probably — of the Creator.

direct departure at death to Paradise, which he meets by the question, "How will the soul be exhaled into heaven" * prior to the judgment? so that these opponents must have placed Paradise in heaven.

He himself sometimes places Paradise in heaven. That he at others locates it on the earth, is to be accounted for more probably by the supposition of inconsistency, than by that of his having held the twofold theory. In his work on *Patience*, he treats man as originally "innocent, the friend of God his neighbor [so called, perhaps, because both lived "in the same locality], and a colonist † of Paradise; but when "he gave way to impatience he ceased to know God, and to "have the capacity of enduring CELESTIAL things. Thence- "forward man was given to the earth, and ejected from the "sight of God." ‡

According to Irenæus, the *Valentinians* "maintain that "the seven heavens [of the Creator] are - - - angels, - - - and "Paradise, SINCE it is ABOVE the third heaven, they call the "fourth." || And it must no doubt be *Valentinians* to whom the *Doctrina Orientalis* alludes as holding that "Man was "created in Paradise, — the fourth heaven." ¶

The above extract from Irenæus assumes that Paradise is ABOVE the third heaven. On the reason for assuming this, some light may be thrown by the manner in which *Clement of Alexandria* quotes Paul: "I know a Christian who was "caught up into the third heaven, and THENCE into Para- "dise." ** *Clement* believed, therefore, as would seem, that Paradise was ABOVE the third heaven.

* *De Anima*, C. 55, p. 353. C.

† Tertullian regarded man, not as created, but as colonized in Paradise.

‡ *De Patientia*, c. 5, p. 162. A. B.

|| *Iren. cont. Hæres.* I. 5. 2 (I. 1). Compare *Tertul. adv. Valentin.* c. 20, p. 298. C.

¶ C. 51, *Clem. Opp.* p. 981.

** *Strom.* V. 12, p. 693. *Comp.* 2 Cor. xii. 2, 4.

Cyprian places Paradise in heaven, or identifies it with heaven. To avoid repetition, the reader is referred for his views to Note E of the Appendix.

4. PARADISE ON EARTH.

Theophilus writes with his eye on the Old Testament narrative, which in his opinion clearly implies that Paradise is on the earth. With two of the rivers which flowed out of it — the Tigris and Euphrates — he was well acquainted, seeing that they were near to [Antioch] where he lived (*nostris regionibus vicini*). Of the other two which watered the East, one, the Geon, flowed round the whole of Ethiopia, and was “said to appear in Egypt under the name of Nile.” Paradise was midway in beauty — not in locality, as Theophilus is sometimes mistaken to have said — between heaven and earth.* Man after the resurrection was to be replaced in it.†

According to Methodius, “Paradise, whence we were ejected in our first parent, is manifestly a spot selected from this earth as a pleasant resting-place, and set apart as a better habitation for the saints. Thence appear the Tigris and Euphrates and other rivers which issue from it, pouring their discharge of waters into our continent. For they do not plunge down from the heavens above, since the earth could not sustain such a mass of water rushing from on high.”‡ Paul, according to this writer, intended two distinct places when he spoke of being seized into the third heaven and into Paradise. The whole passage of Methodius was intended as an answer to Origen.

Certullian, in one work, as already seen, placed Paradise

* Ad. Autol. II. 24, p. 366. B. C. D.

† Ibid. II. 26, p. 367. D. E.

‡ The extract is to be found in Epiphanius Hæres. LXIV. 47, Vol. I. p. 572. B. C.

in heaven. In his Apology, however, addressed to the Heathens, he borrowed its locality from their Elysian Fields. These, at a time when the shores of the Atlantic were an almost unknown region, had been placed by poetic fancy or by popular belief on its distant borders, or on the islands which it embosomed. Tertullian selected a spot equally untravelled by human foot for Paradise. He placed it south of the torrid zone, which he treated as "a garden wall" to separate it "from the knowledge of the common world."*

He had no thought, however, of permitting the inference that he was borrowing from the Heathens, but coolly informs them that their own idea of the Elysian Fields, with all other approximations to truth which they held, came to them from the "Divine Literature."†

5. STATEMENTS LESS PRECISELY WORDED.

Irenæus says that "God planted Paradise in Eden towards the east";‡ not on this earth, as it would seem; for Adam was "ejected thence into this world."|| In his opinion, taken, as he informs us, from the **Presbyters**,¶ that is, from some of the earlier Christians, it was one of three places, — Heaven, Paradise, and the Holy City, — to which, after the renovation of this world, men shall be distributed accordingly as they shall have borne fruit one hundred, sixty, or thirty fold. It was to Paradise, according to Presbyters** disciples of the Apostles, that the translated (Enoch and Elijah) had been taken.

Catian, speaking of the dæmons, or fallen angels, and men, says that the former were cast down from heaven, but

* Apolog. c. 47, p. 42. B.

† Ibid. p. 41. B.

‡ Cont. Hæres. V. 5. 1.

|| Ibid.

¶ Ibid. V. 36. 1, and Routh, Reliq. Sac. Vol. I. p. 10.

** Ibid. V. 5. 1, and Routh, Reliq. Sac. Vol. I. p. 58. (N. B. The Index refers to p. 55.)

men were expelled (*ἐξωπλοθῆσαν*) "from the earth, not from this, but from a better and more finished one." *

The author of the *Dispute between Archelaus and Manes* says of Adam and Eve, "They whom (the Devil) deceived by the promise of their becoming Gods were afterwards cast out of Paradise." † The writer probably regarded Paradise as in heaven, the proper place for Adam and Eve, had they actually been what the Devil promised.

A *Manichæan* is represented in the same work as explaining Paradise to be the World, and the tree of life to be the knowledge of Jesus which is in the world; ‡ an allegorical interpretation which is also advanced by Clement of Alexandria, || and which in the latter writer does not exclude the belief of a special locality called Paradise.

According to Epiphanius, "Hierax did not believe Paradise to be perceptible to the physical senses, *αἰσθητόν*, which was also a folly of Origen." ¶

The *Clementine Homilies* twice mention Paradise as the original residence of Adam, without remark as to its locality. **

I have found no mention of it in the undoubted writings of Justin Martyr, nor in those of Athenagoras, Hermias, Arnobius, Minucius Felix, Commodianus, nor in the fragments collected by Routh, save the two citations of Presbyters by Irenæus which are above given, and the quotations from the Discussion of Archelaus and Manes.

6. ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

PARADISE IN HEAVEN is at the present day regarded

* Cont. Græc. Orat. c. 20, p. 261. D.

† Routh, Reliq. Sac. Vol. I. p. 124.

‡ C. 10, Routh Reliq. Sac. Vol. V. p. 62.

|| Strom. V. 11, pp. 689, 690.

¶ Epiphanius. Hæres. LXVII. 2, Vol. I. p. 711. B.

** Hom. III. 39, XVI. 6.

as the intermediate abode of the righteous until the resurrection.* If any trace of this view can be found in the second and third centuries, it must be by inference, and that a very uncertain one, from the writings either of Tertullian or Cyprian. The Gnostics and such of the Catholic Christians as agreed with them in sending departed souls immediately to heaven, had no idea of ever bringing them down again to be united to their bodies. On the other hand, the party among the Catholics who defended a physical and general resurrection, — for the two seem to have gone together, — condemned as a grievous heresy the opinion of the soul's direct ascent to heaven, which they regarded as overthrowing the resurrection. They seem to have thought that, if the soul once reached heaven and bliss, there was little likelihood of getting it back to earth. Tertullian would almost appear to have gone a step further, and to have concluded that, if people were hereafter to be raised out of the earth, the only method of securing this desirable end was by keeping them UNDER it until the appointed time.†

Cyprian sends the righteous at death to Paradise in heaven, but apparently with the intention that they should remain there permanently. If he twice alludes to a general resurrection, he nowhere connects it with the former idea. It was no doubt an inconsistency natural to one who was in a state of

* In the Assembly's Larger Catechism the Saviour's words to the penitent thief, "*To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise,*" are quoted in proof that righteous souls at death enter upon "communion with Christ in glory," (answer to Question 85, and note appended thereto,) which is explained by the answer to the next question to mean, that they are "received into the highest (?) heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies." And in the answer to the succeeding question it is stated "that at the last day - - the selfsame bodies of the dead which were laid in the grave, being then united to their souls for ever, shall be raised up by the power of Christ."

† See the 5th division of § XXII.

transition from the theology of his master, Tertullian, to that of the opposite school.*

Tertullian twice concedes, not to the righteous, but to Martyrs only, an immediate transfer out of this life into Paradise. In one of these instances, and perhaps in the other, he intends Paradise in heaven. "No one," he says, "on leaving the body, dwells immediately with the Lord, UNLESS he who by the prerogative of martyrdom shall go to Paradise instead of to the Underworld."† And again, after identifying Paradise with the region under the altar,‡ "where NO OTHER souls were shown to John save those of the Martyrs," he adds, "The only key of Paradise is your blood."|| He lived in times of persecution, when it was necessary to cheer men on to torture and death by better promises than that of an imprisonment in the Underworld. The Martyrs were already a kind of demigods, whose hopes of an immediate reward even HE dared not directly oppose. Both passages are, perhaps, unwilling concessions, which Tertullian would rather have withdrawn than developed. In the latter of them, and in close connection with what has been cited, he maintains that "heaven is open to NO ONE while the earth remains," and refers to a work no longer extant, which he had written concerning Paradise, in which, says he, "we laid it down, that EVERY soul is sequestrated in the Underworld, until the day of the Lord."

* See his views in Note E of the Appendix.

† De Resurrect. Carnis, c. 43, p. 411. B. C.

‡ Rev. vi. 9. I can offer conjecture only as to the cause of this identification. Tertullian, who speaks of the communion as an offering (De Exhort. Cast. c. 7, p. 668. D.) may have treated the communion-table as an altar. The Early Christians prayed with their faces to the east, and may not improbably have placed their communion-table at that end of their house of worship. If by analogy Tertullian regarded God's altar as at the east, he may have reasoned that, since Paradise was in the east (Gen. ii. 8), it was the region under the altar.

|| De Anima, c. 55, p. 353. C. D.

TO PARADISE ON EARTH Origen sent righteous souls, not as to their intermediate abode until the resurrection, but as to the first step of that ladder which reached to God's throne. Tertullian also, in the passage wherein he places the earthly Paradise south of the torrid zone, treats it as "a place of divine pleasantness destined for receiving the spirits of the saints." Whether we suppose that this was to take place before or after the resurrection, it is not easy to be harmonized with the general theology of its writer.

§ XXII. CHRISTIAN EXEMPTION FROM THE UNDERWORLD.

1. GENERAL STATEMENT.

IN the second and third centuries, the Christians as a body deemed themselves exempt at death from the Underworld, and regarded this exemption as a privilege peculiarly their own. We have seen * that Tertullian, who alone and for a time defended an opposite view, represents his opponents as asking, "What difference is there, then, between Heathens and Christians, if [as on your supposition] the same prison awaits both." And Hermas has been quoted † as saying, "Before a man receives the name of the Son of God, he is destined to death; but when he receives that seal, he is liberated from death and delivered over to life." Nor can the connection leave any doubt that subjection to and exemption from the Underworld were implied in his use of the terms Death and Life. Prior to Christ, all who died — all save Enoch and Elijah — had in the opinion of Christians gone thither. Since Christ, none but themselves escaped it.

Of these two statements, the former is sufficiently implied

* § XX.

† See § XIII.



in the discussion with Marcion, and in the consequent one among Catholics. A limitation of it will be found in the exception made by some of Origen's opponents under § X. in favor of Samuel and of God's especial favorites; and also in the Ascension of Isaiah, whose author makes the pseudo-Prophet see all the saints since Adam in the seventh heaven.*

Such other limitations as the statements require will appear in the fifth and sixth divisions of this section, save such as may be called for by the Manichæans. Verbally it would be true, that they also regarded Jews and Gentiles as doomed to the Underworld, the region of Death, and Christians as exempt therefrom. But with them there were only two localities, corresponding to heaven and hell, and though the term Hades (the Underworld) was undoubtedly interpreted by them of, though it was *one* of their terms for, the latter place, yet any ideas which might associate it closely with the common conceptions of an Underworld seem to glimmer through or to be buried under such a predominance of other conceptions, that it might mislead rather than illustrate their system, were the prominence of a separate head assigned it.

To avoid the need of repetition, I begin with the Marcionite Gnostics.

2. THE MARCIONITES.

Tertullian, after giving his interpretation of the parable concerning the rich man and Lazarus, says: "But Marcion forces a different interpretation. He maintains, namely, that either place of reward under the Creator, whether of torment or of refreshment, is located in the Underworld for

* Ch. IX. 7, 8. With which compare the belief of Micah and others (Ch. II. 9) "in the heavenly ascent of the faithful." On the other hand, in the same chapter (IX. 17), "many of the saints" are represented as to ascend hereafter with Jesus from the Underworld, so that it is not easy to say in how far such an inconsistent writer is to be regarded as an exception to the common opinion.

“subjects of the Law and the Prophets ; but he explains “the CELESTIAL gate and bosom, of Christ and his God.” *

Justin Martyr, including the Marcionites unquestionably, if indeed he do not refer exclusively to them, tells Trypho the Jew, “If you meet with some who are called Christians, who do not “believe this [the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Millenni- “um], but dare to calumniate the God of Abraham and Isaac “and Jacob, and who say that there is no resurrection of the “dead, but that AT DEATH THEIR SOULS ARE RECEIVED UP INTO “HEAVEN, — do not regard them as Christians.” †

3. LIBERALIST OR HETERODOX CATHOLICS.

According to Origen, “We who have come at the close “of the ages have an advantage. What is it? If we depart “in virtue and goodness, not taking with us the burdens of sin, “we also shall pass the flaming sword [at the gate of Para- “dise], and shall not descend into the regions where those “awaited Christ who fell asleep before his coming.” ‡

That Clement of Alexandria deemed exemption from the Underworld a necessary consequent upon Christian belief, and attainable through it alone, would seem evident from his course of argument in § III. 2.

The Heathens may sometimes have been indignant that the Christians should maintain this exemption as peculiarly theirs. If so, it may have given occasion to the following passage, which, however, is intelligible without such a supposition. “How,” says Arnobius, “do we hurt you, or “what injury do we either do to, or invoke upon you, by be- “lieving that the Omnipotent God will watch over us when “we are about departing from our bodies, and, to use a

* Adv. Marcion. IV. 34, p. 559. C.

† Dial. c. 80, p. 178. A. The passage will be given more at length in the Appendix, Note E.

‡ In Lib. Regum Homil. II. Vol. II. p. 498. B. C.

"common expression, will 'VINDICATE' * us from the jaws of "Orcus (the Underworld)?" † Elsewhere he has an exhortation in the following terms: "Let us commit ourselves to "God, nor allow that our incredulity should outweigh his "name and power, lest - - - our last day should surprise us, "and we be found in the jaws of our enemy, Death." ‡

Cyprian, speaking of the readiness wherewith we should contemplate the approach of death, says: "Let us embrace "the day which assigns to each his abode, which, when we "are taken thence (out of the world), and freed from earthly "bonds, restores us to Paradise and the celestial kingdom." || And again, in addressing a Heathen he says: "While life "continues, no repentance is late. - - - With death upon us, "we can pass to immortality. This favor Christ imparts; " - - - he opens the way of life; he leads us back to Paradise; he will lead us even to the celestial kingdoms." ¶

The probability is, that nearly all the Catholics who belonged to the present class believed a direct ascent of the soul to heaven on its leaving the body. Tertullian in his work on the Soul quotes *opponents*, — evidently Heterodox Catholics, since neither Marcionite nor Theosophic Gnostics held such a view, — who maintained that Christians at death are destined to "Paradise [in heaven as the connection implies], whither the Patriarchs and Prophets, the companions (*appendices*) of the Lord's resurrection, have already

* This term "vindicate" is used by the Author of the *Dispute between Archelaus and Manes* — see § XIV.; also by Irenæus *cont. Hæres. IV. 8. 2* (IV. 19) — of the Liberation from Satan's power which Christ wrought, and the Valentinians, who named some of their *Æons* from ideas common among the Catholics, named one of them *Καρπιστής*, Carpistes, "The Vindicator," (Iren. I. 2. 4.) a legal term, as it would appear, for one who vindicated the right of a slave to liberty.

† Lib. II. c. 53.

‡ Ibid. c. 78.

|| *De Mortalitate*, p. 166.

¶ *Ad. Demet.* p. 196.

“emigrated from the Underworld.”* And **Irenæus**, after complaining that “**some** of those who are regarded as having “been **correct in their belief** overstep the order of promotion of the just, holding heretical views,”† argues, from the interval of three days between Christ’s death and resurrection, that we do not rise at death. Hence it is fair to infer that those Catholics of whom he complains did believe a resurrection or ascent of the soul at death. This latter, and to him heretical view, he connects with a denial of the fleshly resurrection.

Rejecting, as this class of Catholics did, a resurrection of the flesh, and therewith, as it would seem, the belief of a future and simultaneous or general resurrection, there was no generally acknowledged reason left for postponing the soul’s ascent to heaven.

4. ORTHODOX CATHOLICS. — FIRST CLASS.

These deemed it heretical to permit the entrance of souls into heaven prior to the resurrection. On the other hand, had they consigned them at their exit from the body to the Underworld, the realm of death, they might have appeared to rob Christianity of its life-giving character. Perplexity or uncertainty as to whither souls should go at death is apparent in their language; nor does one of them state a distinct locality as an intermediate abode for the righteous.

Justin Martyr says: “The souls of the pious‡ abide

* De Anima, c. 55, p. 353. C.

† Cont. Hæres. V. 31. 1.

‡ By Semisch (in his work on Justin, Vol. II. p. 464), and by others, Justin is regarded as believing the intermediate state of Christian, as well as of other — the intermediate state of all — souls, to be in the Underworld, owing to the following passage, which has no apparent bearing on the subject. Justin (Dial. c. 99, p. 195. A.) speaks of those who put Christ to death, as “not thinking that he was the Messiah, but [as] supposing that they would be able to kill him, and that he would remain

“SOMEWHERE in a better country, and the unjust and wicked
“in a worse, awaiting the time of judgment.”*

According to *Irenæus*, Christian “souls will go away to
“a place (or, an invisible place) allotted them by God.”†
The connection in which this passage is found renders it
additionally striking. *Irenæus* is arguing against Catholic
Christians who are tinctured with heretical views. He starts
from the position, that, if the soul rises at death, Jesus, instead
of awaiting the third day for his resurrection, would have de-
parted when he expired on the cross. He maintains, reiter-
ates, and returns to the supposed fact, that the Saviour abode
until his resurrection IN THE UNDERWORLD, that NO DISCIPLE
IS ABOVE HIS MASTER, and hence, “It is manifest that the
“souls of his disciples also - - - will go —” Whither? — to
the Underworld? This is what the logical sequence im-
peratively requires. But this is not the conclusion to which
Irenæus comes. His words are, “The souls of his disciples
“also, FOR WHOSE SAKE THE LORD DID THESE THINGS (*hæc*
“*operatus est*), will go to an invisible place allotted them by
“God, and will remain there till the resurrection.”‡ If *Ire-*

“like a common man in the Underworld.” Grant that they did think
so; and grant, moreover, what, though true, the passage by no means
implies, that Justin himself regarded common souls (that is, human souls
in distinction from the Messiah’s which had something divine in it)
as swallowed by the Underworld until the date of Christ’s death. This
was, with slight limitation, the belief of all Christians. But it has no
bearing on his or their belief as to the intermediate state of their own
souls, or as to the privileges which Christ’s death had secured to them.
Compare his views on this subject in § IX. and in Note B of the Ap-
pendix.

* Dial. c. 5, p. 107. D.

† Cont. Hæres. V. 31. 2.

‡ Ibid. The passage in the text is from the old Latin translation of
Irenæus. According to the Greek, as found in *Damascenus*, “Souls go
“to the place allotted by God, and there abide till the resurrection.” I
am uncertain whether the whole difference arises from *Damascenus* hav-

næus believed that Christian souls went to the Underworld, his ambiguity of language in the foregoing connection is inexplicable, unless, indeed, on the supposition that his view was unpopular, and that he feared to state it. It is more likely, however, that, as the Saviour "did these things on account of his disciples," Irenæus was willing to send them to a somewhat better place than their master, not perceiving, or at least not acknowledging, that he thereby destroyed his whole previous argument. In fact, that he did not send them to the Underworld is implied in the extracts from his writings under §§ XVI. and XVIII., in one of which extracts he assumes that the children of Adam had been rescued from Satan, and makes it the basis of his proof that Adam himself had been rescued. The rescue of Adam must have been from Satan in his character of Lord over the Underworld, so that the assumed premise implies the same for his children.

The epistle ascribed to Barnabas, a production somewhat earlier than Irenæus, says: "There are two ways, - - - one of light and the other of darkness. - - - The way of light is this. If any one wishes to journey to the 'ALLOTTED PLACE,' he will be zealous in his works. - - - You will love your Maker, you will honor him who RANSOMED YOU FROM DEATH, - - - you will not be joined to those who walk in the way of Death."* — In both writers the Greek term for "the allotted place," τὸν ὁρισμένον τόπον, is the same. The way of light could hardly be regarded as leading into the Underworld, nor could he that had been ransomed from Death be looked upon, if faithful, as becoming his prey.

Polycarp, who, according to Eusebius,† was the teacher of Irenæus, speaks of sundry individuals, — martyrs apparently,

ing abridged Irenæus, or whether the word "invisible" was added by the translator that he might give a greater appearance of logic to the passage, by rendering the place of their abode more similar to Hades.

* Cc. 18, 19 (XIV. 3, 5, 6).

† Hist. Ecc. V. 5.

— and of Paul and the other Apostles, as being “in the place which was due them from the Lord (or, with the Lord, — *ὁφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ*) with whom also they “suffered.” *

There is *A Hortatory Address to the Greeks*, which by some writers is attributed to Justin Martyr,† and in it a passage occurs, which, though admitting difference of interpretation, seems to deserve a place here. The author represents to the Greeks, that “they will not be acting contrary “to the inclinations of their ancestors, by now turning away “from the errors which these held, since it is probable that “those ancestors are at present groaning in the Underworld, “repenting a too late repentance, to whom if it were possible “from that place to show you what has happened to them “since the close of life, you would know from what evils “they desire to free you.” ‡

Hermas regards Christian baptism as exempting men from

* Epistle to the Philippians, c. 9 (III. 8). — The phraseology of Polycarp is slightly modified from that of Clement of Rome, a writer who lived before the Gnostic controversy, and who cannot well be classed with any of the Catholic parties that originated in that controversy. The difficulty of classifying him induces me to place him in this note. Alluding to the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul, he speaks of the former as having gone “to the place of GLORY which was due,” *εἰς τὸν ὁφειλόμενον τόπον δόξης*, and of the latter as having gone to “the holy “place.” 1st Epist. to Cor. c. 5 (III. 12, 15). — The words “of glory,” it will be noticed, are omitted by Polycarp; not impossibly because the idea of going to glory at death was already in his time a heresy.

† The reader will find Bishop Kaye’s reasons for not regarding Justin as its author in his work on that Father, entitled, “Some Account of the “Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr, by John Bishop of Lincoln,” pp. 5–11. This work, though less copious than that of Semisch on the same Father, is much more reliable in its statements. Otto’s *Commentatio de Justinii Martyris Scriptis et Doctrina*, is in some respects preferable to either of the foregoing. An American edition of Bishop Kaye’s three works on Justin, Clement, and Tertullian would be a boon to American students of ecclesiastical history.

‡ Cohortat. ad Græcos, c. 35, p. 32. B. C.

the Underworld, and transferring them to the "Kingdom of God," or to "Life," but without definite explanation as to the meaning of these terms.*

In Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus I have found nothing appropriate to this section. The first of these was a disciple of Justin Martyr, and when he wrote his work against the Greeks was Orthodox. Afterwards he became a Gnostic.

5. ORTHODOX CATHOLICS. — SECOND CLASS.

Under this division, which is intended to embrace such as consigned Christians to the Underworld, I can adduce but one writer; yet, as his reasoning was more logical than that of some in the first class, it is not impossible that he may have found persons to accept it, and I therefore classify him by himself.

Tertullian † loved controversial victory too well to shrink from the sequence of his argument, though it landed himself in the Underworld, and he was too rugged to appreciate the fastidiousness which could desire better quarters than its Master. He copies the argument of Irenæus, that Christ went to the Underworld before ascending to heaven, and then breaks out with hearty earnestness. "You must both believe that

* See § XIII.

† To place Tertullian among the Catholics and Orthodox requires a word of explanation, for in the latter part of his life he was a Montapist. His Montanism, however, did not affect his position as regarded already existing divisions. Judged by these, he is properly classified. And indeed, the use which later writers made of his writings would indicate the same position for him. In the present instance he is but following out the argument of Irenæus to its legitimate results. His view is **ULTRA-Orthodoxy**. To class him as a Montanist would create a need of explaining his position which is obviated by classing him as above. Neander, it may be remarked, places not only Tertullian, but Montanus and Montanism, under the head, not of Heresies, but of the Catholic Church.

“the Underworld is a subterranean region,* and keep at arm’s length those who proudly enough do not think the souls of the faithful meet subjects for the Underworld. Servants above their Lord, and disciples above their master, they spurn the solace of an expected resurrection, if they are to await it in Abraham’s bosom.”†

There was a difficulty, however, which Tertullian noticed in his confinement of all souls below. Christian exorcists sometimes wrung, as they thought, from an evil spirit, the confession that it was of human parentage. “Sometimes,” says Tertullian, “it affirms itself a gladiator or beast-fighter, as on other occasions a god, caring for nothing save to exclude this doctrine of ours, and hinder the belief that all souls are compelled into the Underworld, so as to disturb the belief of a judgment and resurrection.”‡

The connection of ideas in Tertullian’s mind appears to be this. The Judgment was a consequent upon the Resurrection. But people would not believe that the dead were yet to rise out of the ground, if they found that they had got out already.

As for the account of Samuel, the dæmon had assumed his appearance. “Far be it from me,” says Tertullian, “to believe that the soul of any saint, to say nothing of a prophet, was brought out by a dæmon.”||

“Therefore,” he represents his opponents as saying, “all souls are in the Underworld.” “Just so,” is his answer. “You may be willing or unwilling, [but] both punishments and refreshments are there; you have the rich man and Lazarus [as a proof of it].”¶

* Irenæus, from whom Tertullian copies this, was arguing against the Valentinians, who, it will be remembered, deemed this world the Underworld.

† De Anima, c. 55, p. 353. B.

‡ Ibid. c. 57, p. 355. D.

|| Ibid. p. 356. A.

¶ Ibid. c. 58, p. 356. D.

From this doom, however, Tertullian had to make an exception, as has already appeared,* — probably an unwilling one, — in favor of the Martyrs. And there is one passage in which he takes ground the reverse of the above. His fourth book against Marcion is an examination, in order, of the copy of Luke which the latter used, and of his interpretations. It would seem that Marcion took the parable concerning the rich man and Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19–31) as evidence that the Jewish Deity sent both good and bad to the Underworld. Tertullian answers : “The Underworld is one place, as I think, “and Abraham’s bosom another; for it is said that there is a “great gulf between those regions, such as prohibits passing “from either side. Neither would the rich man have lifted “up his eyes, and indeed from afar off, † unless looking at “higher regions, - - whence it is apparent to every sensible “man who may have heard of the Elysian Fields, that there “is a determined locality called Abraham’s bosom, intended “to receive the souls of his children, even of Gentile extraction. - - That region, therefore, I call Abraham’s bosom, “which, though not a celestial one, is higher than the Under- “world, and affords a temporary refreshment to the souls of “the just until the consummation of things shall bring to “pass the resurrection of all with its plenitude of reward.” ‡

Yet so far as lifting Abraham’s bosom out of the Underworld is concerned, the idea was probably a momentary impulse of opposition to Marcion, for a few lines further on Tertullian replaces it there, treating Abraham’s words, — “*They have Moses and the Prophets; let them hear them,*” — as spoken in the Underworld.

* See § XXI. 6.

† Origen’s second Homily on Kings was written, I suspect, while more than one passage of Tertullian was fresh in his mind. He there argues that Abraham was (at the date of the occurrence) in the Underworld because the rich man saw him, “for though ‘*from afar off*,’ yet he saw “him.” Vol. II. p. 498. A.

‡ Adv. Marcion. IV. 34, p. 559. C.

Tertullian was a man of vehement impulses; fonder of consistency in the argument under hand than of a general accordance in his views, and fonder of an apparent controversial victory than of any consistency whatever. Precise dates cannot be affixed to his various writings, and it is difficult to distinguish between gradual changes which his opinions may have undergone, and hasty expressions which he soon forgot.*

6. THE VALENTINIANS.†

Irenæus, in a passage concerning the Valentinians, and perhaps concerning other Theosophic Gnostics, part of which has already been quoted, exclaims, "How shall not they be confounded who say that the Lower Regions (or Under-world, *Inferos*) are this world of ours, and that their inner man, leaving the body here, ascends to the super-celestial place."‡

According to a passage of the *Doctrina Orientalis*, "He who is born of his mother is introduced into Death and the World; but he who is born again of Christ is transferred into life, into the Middle Space (*Ὁγδοάδα*), and they die indeed to the World, but live to God, that death may be done away by their dying, and corruption by their rising again."||

* For further remarks on this division of the subject, see Appendix, Note F.

† The reader will please recur, for explanation of some of the terms used in this division, to § IV.

‡ Cont. Hæres. V. 31. 2.

|| C. 80, p. 987. — Another passage of the same document refers apparently to man's condition prior to Christianity. "According to the Valentinians," it says, "of the descendants of Adam, the Just, journeying through the creations (the realms of the Creator) were detained in 'The Place' [probably above the seventh heaven where the Creator dwelt, comp. c. 59], but others in the creation of darkness, in the left hand [i. e. in the earthly places or elements], having a perception of

Both these passages, it will be noticed, treat the transfer to the Middle Space as exemption after this life from the Underworld or from Death.

The former gives the Valentinian view of what should happen to themselves, the Spiritual, at death, but the latter seems at least to include the fate of the Catholics whom they regarded as Psychical or rational, and who were destined also to pass at death, as it would seem, into the Middle Space. That some of them held this view concerning the Catholics or Psychical is slightly strengthened, perhaps, by phraseology of Irenæus.*

"the fire" of Gehenna. Ibid. c. 37, p. 978. Gehenna appears to have been a chasm into which a stream of fire poured from under the throne of "The Place," but which had never become full. Possibly the time of its overflow may have been the period when a general conflagration was to be anticipated. Perhaps the "three left-hand places" (Doct. Orient. c. 28) were the three elements (Ibid. c. 48), earth, air, and water; fire not being reckoned as one. Tertullian, in giving the Valentinian view, — that the earthly and material were to perish, — adds a quotation as if used by them, " '*because all flesh is grass,*' and the soul [except that "of the Spiritual] is mortal in their estimation, unless saved by faith." Adv. Valentin. c. 32, p. 302. A. — Under the term *flesh*, the Valentinians included the fleshly or material soul (Doct. Orient. c. 51), which they probably regarded as remaining in this world, and to be burnt up with it. The quotation from Is. xl. 6, "*All flesh is grass,*" could readily be connected with Matt. vi. 30, "*Which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven.*" In this fate they included the rational soul which turned to earthly things. According to the Doctrina Orientalis, "concerning these two the Saviour says that we should '*fear him who is able to destroy this soul and this psychical body in Gehenna.*'" C. 51, p. 981.

* According to Irenæus, at the consummation — when Wisdom and the Spiritual, her children, should pass into the Pleroma — the Creator was to "PASS into the place of his mother, the Middle Space, and the "souls of the Just should also REST in the Middle Space." Cont. Hæres. I. 7. 1. Tertullian, who seems to have copied his account in no small degree from Irenæus, attributes to them the opinion, that, at this consummation, "the souls of the Just, that is, ours [i. e. the souls of Catholics "or Psychical], will be TRANSMITTED to the Creator in the receptacle of "the Middle Space." Adv. Valentin. c. 32, p. 302. A. The wording

On the other hand, there is left to us an express statement of the *Doctrina Orientalis*, according to which "the rest of "the Spiritual in the Lord's administration is in the Middle "Space (literally in the eighth), which is called 'The "Lord's' * - - - but the other FAITHFUL souls (the souls of "the Catholics who are saved by faith, and not by their "spiritual nature) remain with the Creator. But at the "consummation these also go up into the Middle Space. - - - "Thence the Spiritual, divesting themselves of their souls,†

of Irenæus might give color to the supposition that they were there already.

* Ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν πνευματικῶν ἀνάπανσις ἐν κυριακῇ, ἐν ὀγδοᾷδι, ἡ κυριακὴ ὀνομάζεται. The punctuation is my own. The association of ideas belonging to the Greek cannot easily be transferred to English, nor am I sure that "the Lord's administration" is a correct rendering of *κυριακῇ*. The Sabbath or seventh day was the Creator's, the eighth day was the Lord's, and also, in Valentinian phraseology, the Sabbath or seventh heaven was the Creator's, and "The Eighth," meaning the eighth locality, for there were no more heavens, was a technical term for the Middle Space, which was also called ἡ κυριακή, "the Lord's," or "the Dominical," the common appellation of the Lord's day.

The Millenarian Christians, proceeding on the supposition that "one "day is with the Lord as a thousand years," regarded the six days of creation, figuratively interpreted, as an emblem of the six thousand years from the creation requisite to prepare things for Christ's second advent, and the Millennium, the seventh thousand, as the true Sabbath, when he should reign on earth. Perhaps the technical term for the Lord's day, where first used in the above extract, may mean the Lord's dispensation or administration.

† According to the Valentinians, souls were not admitted into the Pleroma. Nothing but pure spirit entered there. They seem to have greatly troubled Irenæus by their use of the Apostle's words, "*Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.*" (Cont. Hæres. V. 9. 1.) Flesh and blood, they understood, as did many at least of the Catholics, to mean "body and soul." Whether, however, by the kingdom of God they understood the Pleroma, I am not certain. It would accord with their system to understand that an infusion of "spiritual seed" into the rational soul — an infusion which, even before Christ's time, came from a higher source than the Creator — was requisite to save it from Death. It

" - - - enter within the boundary [of the Pleroma]." *

This being the case, if we take the narrowest Valentinian definition of the Underworld, as meaning the realm of the Cosmocrator or Devil, Christ's mission procured for the rational or psychical Christians an exemption therefrom, since by their "faith" in Christ they were saved, and translated temporarily to the Creator's place of rest, and subsequently to the Middle Space.

If we so extend the meaning of their terms for the Underworld as to make it include the whole realm below twilight, the whole perishable creation of the Jewish Deity, then in this higher sense the Spiritual themselves had been exempted therefrom by Christ's mission to this Underworld, since he first translated them to the illumination and life of the Middle Space.

7. THE CLEMENTINE HOMILIES.

The eccentric Author of this religious fiction was not a Gnostic, for he regarded the Jewish and Christian dispensations as proceeding from the same source. He was scarcely a Catholic, for he regarded many passages of the Old Testament as proceeding from the Devil, who had been permitted to interpolate them as a means of discriminating between good and evil men, of whom the former would not believe anything bad concerning God, even if they found it written.†

could not gain admission even to the Creator's rest without it. And this seems to have been precisely the view of Irenæus, except that he regarded this saving spirit as originating with the Creator, while the Valentinians deemed him incompetent to furnish it. See Irenæus, V. 9. 1.

* Doct. Orient. cc. 63, 64, pp. 984, 985.

† Hom. II. 38—III. 5, and elsewhere. Neander, who adopts the common view that the writer was an Ebionite, supposes that his object was "to compose a work that might serve to reconcile those opposite (Judaizing and Gnostic) views, — a work of an apologistic and conciliatory

The work is much of it in a dialogue form, the author's sentiments being put into the mouth of the Apostle Peter.

The Apostle, addressing a lonely Heathen mother who had thought of suicide, says that suicides meet with a worse punishment in the Underworld. She replies, "I wish I knew that souls really lived in the Underworld, and I should love, despite the punishment, to die, so that I might see, even for an hour, those that I long for. And Peter said, 'I would like to know what grieves you, woman. For if you will tell me this, - - I will convince you that souls live in the Underworld.'" * A subsequent passage evinces that a better fate than this awaited the lovers of God. "Souls," it says, "if they leave the body, and are found to have a desire for him (God), are borne into his bosom; as in winter the undying vapors of the mountains, being drawn by the rays of the sun, are borne to him." † While we are elsewhere again informed that the wicked man goes to the Underworld. ‡

"tendency, — a noticeable phenomenon in the ferment of that chaotic period." See Torrey's *Neander*, Vol. I. p. 353. The hair of a genuine Ebionite — a thoroughly Jewish Christian — would have been likely to stand on end while reading such "conciliatory" language as that of this author.

* Hom. XII. 14, Cotel. Vol. I. p. 711. Compare the confession attributed to Simon Magus, Hom. II. 30, *ibid.* p. 635.

† Hom. XVII. 10, p. 740.

‡ *Ibid.* II. 13, p. 631, in which passage, unless I am mistaken, *ἐνταῦθα* means in this life, *ἐκεῖ* in that, or the future life. Not referring necessarily to Hades.

§ XXIII. CHRIST'S UNDERWORLD MISSION THE CAUSE
OF THE EXEMPTION.

It might well be that Christians were sometimes satisfied to believe their own exemption from the regions of gloom, without seeking a specific agency which effected it. Yet so far as the Christians of the second and third centuries have pointed out an agency, they have referred to Christ's Underworld Mission. Tertullian represents the opponents of his ultra-orthodoxy as exclaiming, "But Christ went to the Underworld for this very purpose, — that we might not go there." * And Origen, using the term "salvation" so as to include, if not as identical with, exemption from the Underworld, has already been quoted in a note on p. 25 as saying, that Christ "for the salvation of the world descended even to the Lower Regions." Nearly the whole history of the victory and ransom testifies to the prevalence of a similar belief.

There is, however, a separate question from the above, which suggests itself here: Can a belief in Christ's Underworld Mission have given rise to, or strengthened, the belief in this exemption of his followers? That it must have strengthened it, would seem a moral certainty. Christians who attributed to the Saviour such effort and suffering for the purpose of rescuing THE DEPARTED from the Underworld, could not readily have believed that he would leave his work half accomplished; that he would have overlooked THEMSELVES and permitted THEM to fall a prey to it and to their arch-enemy. A supposition, however, that the belief of this exemption grew out of the doctrine of Christ's mission below, though not unnatural, is scarcely probable. The belief of

* De Anima, c. 55, p. 353. B.

exemption may have originated in the two following ways :
 1. From an idea that Christianity, as a life-giving religion, must exempt its followers from the realms of Death. 2. From a blending together by the Christians of two conceptions, one that they were God's children, the other, — which they retained from their Heathen education, — that the children of a divine being were exempt from the Underworld.*

§ XXIV. GENERAL REMARKS.

A GERMAN writer, Dr. Pott, whose dissertation on Christ's Descent to the Underworld † has a respectable place assigned it in references and quotations, thinks that all the various opinions on the subject prior to the fourth century were owing to interpretations of 1 Peter iii. 19 ; ‡ and Hagenbach, in his Doctrinal History, appears to imply that they originated in expositions of the New Testament and of Psalm xvi. || Pear-

* Thus Dionysius of Halicarnassus represents the mother of Coriolanus as saying to her son, that if she can dissuade him from war against his native country, immortal (or divine) glory will be her lot after this life, "and if any place receive human souls when freed from their bodies, that "dark and subterranean place in which the wicked (or evil dæmons, *κακο-δαίμονας*) are said to dwell shall not receive mine, nor yet shall the "Lethæan plains, but that pure ether above, IN WHICH, ACCORDING TO "REPORT, DWELL THE CHILDREN OF THE GODS, experiencing a blessed "and happy life." *Antiq. Rom.* VIII. 52, Vol. III. p. 1629, edit. Reiske. Compare also an extract from Irenæus in Note B of the Appendix to this essay.

† "D. J. Pott, Excursus III. De Descensu Jesu Christi ad Inferos" ; in the "Novum Testamentum," Edit. Koppianæ, Vol. IX. pp. 281-340.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 291.

|| The passages to which he refers in his note are, Acts ii. 27, 31 ; (Rom. x. 6, 7, 8 ;) Eph. iv. 9 ; 1 Peter iii. 19, 20 (connected with Psalm xvi. 10). See his *Dogmengeschichte* (2d edit.), Vol. I. § 69. Whether by inclosing two of the passages in parentheses he intended to attribute less weight to them, I do not know.

son, in his work on the Creed, says: "The ancients seem "upon no other reason to have interpreted this place of St. Peter [1 Peter iii. 19] in that manner, but because other "apocryphal writings led them to that interpretation," and refers to the passage of Jeremiah,* and that from the Shepherd of Hermas,† as the ones which misled them, ‡ but without attempting to account for the origin of these passages.

The reasons assigned above seem insufficient. Of the passages adduced by Hagenbach, not more than two could be misinterpreted of a MISSION below, and not more than one — 1 Peter iii. 19, 20 — would be likely to suggest it. To this passage the less influence can be attributed, since its appearance of favoring heresy must have precluded it from being much used. According to it, Christ preached to the wicked, precisely the subject of outcry against Marcion. Unless my examination has deceived me, no Father of the second or third century quotes the passage save Origen, who was not afraid to save even the dæmons. Clement of Alexandria, as we have already seen, found himself in one instance || on the point of quoting it, but retreated out of it. If the doctrine of Christ's mission to the dead existed, as Pearson suggests, in a spurious prediction of Jeremiah, this implies that it was previously held by a considerable number of Christians. Of events currently believed, a prediction might be forged. But a Christian forger would not have made Jeremiah predict that the Messiah WOULD do what no one believed that Jesus HAD done. Nor could Hermas have aided in diffusing such a view, since it is nowhere contained nor alluded to in his writings.

The reasons which originated the doctrine of the Under-world mission, and caused it to strike such deep root, were

* See § VIII.

† See close of § XIII.

‡ Exposit. of the Creed, by J. Pearson, Article V. pp. 366, 367. (New York and Philadelphia edit. 1844.)

|| See § III. 2, and note * on p. 14.

probably the following:— 1. A wish to solve the question of what Christ did in the interval between his death and resurrection. 2. The need of accounting for the life-giving power of Christianity, or of explaining the victory which Christ had won for his followers over Death. 3. The effort to discover a dignified object for his sufferings. 4. The desire of finding in the Old Testament proof-texts against the Jews, which should imply his death. 5. The benevolent purpose of saving the departed without endangering a doctrine on which the Early Christians found it convenient to lay great stress, namely, that no one could be saved without becoming a Christian.

The Ransom, when viewed as a redemption of man from the Prince or rulers of evil by the exercise of power, might be placed under the second of these reasons, as almost a synonyme for the victory. When viewed, however, as an indemnification to Satan, I doubt whether it were not rather a difficulty to the Early Christians, than an idea likely to spread. They loved to represent Christianity as a triumphant religion, not as one whose author paid tribute to the powers of darkness. Some speculative minds may have been unable to find any other solution of the ransom (1 Peter i. 18, 19) than such a tribute, but the mass would have preferred to leave it unexplained rather than adopt such a view.

In determining the date at which the doctrine of Christ's mission below had already a deep hold on the popular mind, no little importance is to be attached to its reception by the Gnostics. According to Clement of Alexandria, "In the days of Hadrian [A. D. 117 – 138] arose the devisers of heresies, and continued till the age of the elder Antoninus [A. D. 138 – 161]. . . . Marcion, belonging to the same period as they [as Basilides and Valentinus, the earliest teachers], became, as an old man, the companion of the later ones."*

* Strom. VII. 17, p. 898. The passage, so far as translated above,

Of these Gnostics, Marcion did not believe that Christ was in any sense a man, or that he had anything human about him. He was a purely divine being, who had neither suffered nor died, and there was not the slightest reason why such a being should go to the Underworld, unless he had a mission to call him thither. The controversy of Marcion with the Catholics shows that the idea of a mission below was already established, and the mere question at issue between them was as to who accepted and were benefited by it. But it must have been ~~very~~ thoroughly established, one would think, in order to the reception of it by Marcion from his opponents, and the engrafting of it on his own system; for since he did not use the Epistle of Peter, he could not have found it in any Scripture which he used, and must have adopted it from the Catholics.

That the Valentinians must have needed ingenuity in remodelling the doctrine so as to fit it into their system is evident. And since the descent to the Underworld was according to their views a descent to this earth, and a mission to its inhabitants, there would seem to have been little reason why at the Saviour's resurrection (rising again) a second mission, a mission to the departed, should have been added, unless the Christian community out of which these men sprung had attached importance thereto.

It can scarcely be that, at the opening of the second century or the close of the first, the doctrine of Christ's Underworld mission, so far at least as regards the preaching to and liberation of the departed, was not a widely spread and deeply seated opinion among Christians. The evidence of its general reception is far stronger than if it were a mere doctrine of the creed, for articles of the creed have in nearly every instance been opinions which were not generally re-

needs no correction of the text. A clause of the paragraph which immediately follows, concerning Simon Magus, has puzzled critics. For $\mu\epsilon\theta'$ $\delta\nu$, I would read $\mu\epsilon\theta'$ $\delta\nu$.

ceived,* and to which the stronger party therefore gave a place in their confessions of faith as a means of defining their position. On the essential features of the present doctrine, the Catholics and Heretics were of one mind. It was a point too settled to admit dispute.

A separate question from the foregoing might, however, be raised concerning the date to which we can trace back the idea of a redemption of the departed from Satan, Lord of the Lower Regions; that is, from the personified Death. The difficulty of determining positively the earliest date of such a view is partly owing to the twofold position of the Devil in Catholic theology, to his being both ruler of this and the lower world, so that a deliverance from his power might imply a liberation from him, either in one, or in the other, or in both capacities. Yet the Ransom, as it appears in Irenæus, must have been given to Satan as Lord of the Lower Realms. It was only in that capacity that he could have received the soul of Jesus, and as early as Irenæus, the redemption of the departed from his power must have been believed. I am myself inclined to think that it existed among the Eastern or Greek Christians at a much earlier day.† The phraseology

* The reason which, in the fourth century, caused the insertion into some of the public and individual confessions of faith of the clause "He descended into the Underworld," appears to have been, that it was regarded as IMPLYING a tenet openly denied by the Apollinarians, namely, that Christ had a human soul. See King's "History of the Apostles' Creed," pp. 243-268 (2d edit. Lond. 1703). For difficulties and perplexity occasioned by this clause in modern times, see Appendix, Note G.

† There is a singular inaccuracy of statement concerning Satan's rule over the departed in several writers who assume, and are supposed to have, a knowledge of Early Christian opinions. Semisch, after alluding to Justin's opinion that "all souls of the Old Testament Just and Prophets had fallen into the hands of spirits," speaks of it as "a conception which, save the accordance with it by Anastasius, Patriarch of Antioch, recurs perhaps in not a single other Father," and then quotes to the following effect, as a production of Anastasius,—who according to Dupin lived in the sixth century, — the Questions and Responses attributed to him, which

of Justin Martyr and of the Valentinians is more easy of explanation, if we suppose such a view to have been already current in or before that time, than on any other supposition; and Justin's phraseology is scarcely intelligible without it. Whether it prevailed as early and widely among Latin Christians may be doubted. Oriental conceptions of Satan would require some time in order to penetrate the Western World.

In the foregoing pages, no separate investigation is devoted to the Ebionite or Jewish Christians. A document called the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is the only relic attributed to a writer of this class, which from its size and nature would afford (if from a Christian hand) any hope of allusion to Christ's suffering. And it does contain two allusions to his descent and mission below.* But as I suppose

according to Moreri and Dupin could not have been written before the eleventh century. Quest. 112. "All souls of saints and sinners were "under the power of the Devil until Christ, descending into the Under-world, said to those in bonds, 'Go forth.'" Semisch's Justin, Vol. II. p. 465, note 3. There is certainly no scarcity of such statements in undoubted writings of well-known Fathers. Pott, though in a reasonable error as compared with the foregoing, makes a remarkable statement for one who was expressly treating of Christ's descent to the Underworld. "If," says he, "any one in these centuries (the second and third) maintains that Christ descended to the Underworld for the purpose of liberating men from the rule of Death (Satan), Hippolytus is doubtless "the only one." The passage alluded to he quotes from a work, *De Antichristo*, of questioned authorship. It speaks of Christ as "preaching to "the souls of the saints, conquering death by dying." *De Antichristo*, c. 26. See Pott's *Excursus de Desc. Jesu Christi ad Inferos*, in Koppe's Testament, Vol. IX. p. 291. Enough certainly of similar and stronger statements are to be found in the same period.

* "Now, therefore, know that the Lord will execute judgment upon "the sons of men, when the rocks being rent . . . [and the Underworld "despoiled at the suffering of the Most High], unbelieving men shall per-severe in their iniquity." III. (Levi) 4, *Grabe Spicileg.* Vol. I. p. 160.

"But in your portion [of the promised land] shall be the temple of "God, and it shall be glorious among you; and the twelve tribes shall "be gathered there, and all nations [until the Most High shall send his

the body of the work to be Jewish, not Christian; and one or both of these allusions to be the interpolations of a Catholic, I have not used it as proof of Ebionite opinions. There is, however, no reason to doubt that the Ebionites shared with the Catholics a belief in the Underworld mission of their Master. They would equally with the latter, if not in a greater degree, have been exposed to the temptation of adopting it for the sake of enlarging their store of predictions from the Old Testament, concerning their Master's suffering.

§ XXV. GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPELS.

THOSE familiar with the theological questions of the past fifty years know that the Four Gospels now used among Christians have been seriously treated as not existing in their present form before the end of the second, or beginning of the third century, and that not a few have leaned to this conclusion. These histories of Christ have been regarded either as fabricated about that period from previously existing documents of uncertain credit, or as selected from a multitude of earlier or contemporary fabrications by the judgment or prejudice of Christians; or they have been deemed in their present shape the result of gradual accretions during the first and second centuries.

If the above views are correct, many would with justice think, that little reliance could be placed on such documents.* But leaving out of sight the direct evidence to the

"salvation in the guardianship of his only begotten, . . . and coming up "from the Underworld, he shall ascend into heaven . . .]" XII. (Benjamin). 9, Ibid. p. 250. The clauses in brackets I suppose to be Christian interpolations.

* A trustworthy compilation could of course be made from reliable documents in the second century, but that it should be adopted so widely

contrary, which has frequently and in various ways been developed, there exists in the theology of the Early Christians a mass of indirect and very convincing testimony, to overthrow any such positions ;—testimony the less suspicious, because it is independent either of the veracity or the judgment of any or all of those who furnish it.

The Gospels — whether adopted earlier or later — were used by the Early Christians as a history of their Master's life and teachings, and, viewed in this light, as the basis of their own faith. Now it requires but a moderate acquaintance with human nature to feel convinced that they would not fabricate documents AS THE BASIS OF THEIR FAITH, and yet leave their own faith out of them, or at least leave out those points in their faith which most interested them. Neither would they select AS THE BASIS OF THEIR FAITH documents in which their favorite opinions nowhere appear, and reject those which contained them, as must have been the case if our Gospels were selected from other productions of the second century. Nor, if such A BASIS OF FAITH grew by accretion, is it credible that not one alone, but successive hands, should have added thereto, and never have put their cherished peculiarities into it.

To suppose a somewhat parallel case, — certainly not a stronger one, — let us imagine that each division of Protestants had formed or selected for itself a basis of faith, in which none of its peculiarities could be found ; that the Heidelberg and Westminster Catechisms, the Confession of Augsburg, or the Articles of Dordrecht and those of the Anglican Church, had offered no clew to the denominational tenets of their framers. Let us suppose that a BASIS OF MORALITY should for a century grow by accretion under the hands of Pro and Anti Slavery parties, with no allusion to the subject

and immediately by the Christians as to supersede the originals before the century closed, whilst no lisp touching the compiler or the originals has reached us, would be impossible.

of their dispute ; or that amidst the controversies on the person of Christ, or the vicarious atonement, the Gospels should have grown in a similar way, with no mention of these doctrines. Yet, unless my study of early history have deceived me, the aggregate improbability of all these suppositions does not exceed that of the idea, that the Gospels could grow by accretion during a century and a half of various and fierce conflicts between the Christians and their opponents, or among Christians themselves, with no allusion to their controversies, or to the opinions developed by them.

The argument from Early Christian opinions may be divided into two branches. 1. From their belief concerning the history of Christ. 2. From their speculative views in theology, morality, and philosophy. 3. A third, and to some extent independent argument, might be based on their controversies.

As regarded the first of these, the opinions of Christians coincided to a degree that evinces the prevalence among them of a history or histories which, if not identical with our Gospels, corresponded essentially with them. But there was one supposed fact in Christ's history not contained in our Gospels, nor do they profess to have found it in theirs, and that was the Mission to the Underworld.

Now let the reader consider the extent to which their theological system, their "scheme of salvation," rested on this supposed fact, and ask himself whether, in a history of Christ formed by them, it would have been omitted.* They found

* The Christian forgeries of the second and third centuries consisted of Pseudo-Jewish and Pseudo-Heathen, not, as has commonly been supposed, of Pseudo-Apostolic documents. The latter would have been useless in controversies with Jews and Gentiles, and, unless forged in Paul's name, would have had no weight with the Marcionites. In five of these forgeries a BRIEF sketch of Christ's life is either historically narrated or prophetically foretold, and, brief though these sketches are, in each of them his life is closed by his mission to the Underworld. 1. The Ascension of Isaiah, a Pseudo-Jewish

abundant evidence, as they thought, that this mission had been predicted. But their histories of Christ, and, if they be supposed different, the histories which they have transmitted to us, afford no evidence that these predictions were ever fulfilled. In their Gospels and in ours, the interval between the Saviour's death and resurrection is a blank, and on this blank they built no small portion of their faith. The crucifixion and death of Jesus, offensive both to Jews and Gentiles, and calling for explanation by Christians, were narrated in their Gospels as in ours. But THE EXPLANATION OF THE OFFENSIVE FACTS WAS LEFT OUT. The Saviour, instead of ascending to heaven with a host of the departed, appears both in their Gospels and ours as remaining on earth with his disciples.

If the reader suppose that the Apostle Peter held and taught a ministry of his Master to the departed, then, though in a much weaker form, the foregoing argument would apply

Prophecy, has been already quoted (p. 56). 2. As also the Pseudo-Thaddeus (p. 76), the name of which must not mislead the reader into supposing it to be a forgery of Apostolic authority. It is an integral part of the correspondence opened by King Abgarus with Christ, which was forged, not for the sake of creating documents in the names of Christ and Thaddeus, but in the name of Abgarus. The Christians wished (as in the forged correspondence opened by Seneca with Paul) to meet Heathen contempt for themselves and their religion by an instance of respect towards it from an eminent Heathen or a Heathen monarch. 3. The Sibylline Oracles, a collection of Pseudo-Heathen Prophecies, represent that Christ "shall go to the house of Hades, announcing a resurrection to the dead," Book I. lines 383, 384 (377, 378), p. 185, or "He shall come into Hades, announcing hope to all," Book VIII. line 310, p. 743. For the date of these citations, see Appendix, Note H. 4. For the Acts of Pilate, a Pseudo-Heathen History of Christ; and 5. Pilate's Report; see Appendix, Note D. I ought perhaps to add, that I have not discovered a single instance in which any writer of the second or third century quotes the mission from any of these documents, or alludes to the fact that they mention it. The belief of this mission was far more widely and thoroughly established than the credit of these forgeries. Their testimony could not strengthen it.

to the first century. It would then seem, that, though a distinguished Christian leader and Apostle had been willing to state such a view as his own, yet its absence from the Gospels bears evidence, in so far, that neither he nor any that accepted his view had tampered with the Master's history, or put their own views into his mouth.

Nor can the absence from the Gospels of any allusion to this ministry be accounted for by a difficulty of introducing it. When the Saviour foretold his sufferings, death, and resurrection, and the disciples "understood none of these things" (Luke xviii. 34), it would have been easy to make him give the explanation thereof, that he had a mission to fulfil in the Underworld. And when he conversed with them after his resurrection, it would have been perfectly in place to put into his mouth a statement of what he had accomplished.*

But the argument does not stop here. In one of the Gospels we find a passage glaringly inconsistent with the mission to the Underworld, a passage noticed by the Early Christians. Origen, after quoting the Saviour's words (Matt. xii. 40), "*The Son of Man shall be three days and nights in the heart of the earth*," asks, "How could he be three days and nights in the heart of the earth, who at his departure was to be in the Paradise of God according to the statement (Luke xxiii. 43), '*To-day thou shalt be with me in the Paradise of God*'?"† And adds: "This expression has so troubled

* If the reading adopted by Gallæus and Opsopopæus be correct, the author of one Sibylline fragment must have supposed the events below to be the subject of the Saviour's conversation with some of his disciples, perhaps with those whom he accompanied to Emmaus. "He shall come to light again in three days, and shall manifest [the events of] his sleep to mortals." Book I. lines 385, 386, p. 185.

† The words "of God" are not in our present copies of Luke, nor were they probably in Origen's. Without having specially studied his citations, I have noticed that the New Testament passage which forms in any case the particular subject of his comment is quoted in close accordance

“some by its appearance of incongruity, that they have ventured to suspect as an addition to the Gospel by interpolations, that passage, ‘*To-day thou shalt be with me in the Paradise of God.*’ But we say that, according to the simple (or literal) interpretation, he perhaps, before going into the so-called ‘*heart of the earth,*’ placed in the Paradise of God him who had said, ‘*Remember me when thou shalt come in thy kingdom.*’ According, however, to the deeper (or spiritual) meaning, the phrase ‘*To-day*’ in the Scripture extends to the whole even of the existing age.”*

The suspicion of interpolation was based on the incompatibility of the passage with assumed facts, not upon its absence from manuscripts; nor does Origen — who had made textual criticism more a study than any contemporary Christian or Heathen, and who was in no wise indisposed to give the various readings which he had discovered — allude to it as wanting in a single manuscript.

But its disaccordance with existing theology had been perceived long before Origen’s time. Marcion might have made much use of the Saviour’s words to the penitent thief. Beset as he was on account of maintaining that souls went to heaven at death, there was no passage in his records or ours more apposite as an argument wherewith to support himself. Yet Epiphanius informs us, “He cut away the expression, “‘*To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.*’” The inference is a fair one, that the Underworld Mission outweighed in his own mind any value which the passage possessed for him as a controversial argument.

The method of solving difficulties by erasures was peculiar to Marcion. Neither the Theosophic Gnostics nor Catholic

with our present editions, and seems to have been cited with a manuscript open before him. His quotations from other portions of Scripture, for the purpose of illustrating the subject in hand, appear to be made from memory.

* Comment in Joannem, Tom. XXXII. 19, Opp., Vol. IV. p. 455. B. C.

Christians participated in it. That the latter did not, receives no slight confirmation from the fact, that they retained and transmitted to us in their sacred records a passage which directly contradicted their own faith.

To attempt unfolding the second class of arguments already alluded to for the genuineness of the Gospels, deducible from the speculative views of the Early Christians in theology, morality, and philosophy, and the third, from the controversies in which they were engaged, would be foreign to the purpose of this essay, and would require a volume, if not two, to do it justice. Arguments could be developed, some of them stronger than the preceding, or applicable to an earlier date, from, 1. The dissension between Jewish and Gentile Christians; 2. The controversy between Christians and Jews; 3. Between Christians and Gentiles; 4. Between Catholics and Gnostics;—from, 5. The conception of the Supreme Deity as necessarily devoid of name; 6. Jesus as the special Deity of the Old Testament; 7. The Pseudo-Deities of the heathens; 8. Idolatry ethically considered; 9. The use made of the Old Testament predictions; 10. The use made of Heathen or Pseudo-Heathen Prophecies; 11. The division into Faithful and Catechumens; 12. The customs and views concerning the Lord's day; 13. And also concerning the Sabbath or Saturday; 14. The belief concerning Rome's destruction; 15. And the burning up of the world; 16. And Baptism; 17. And the Resurrection of the flesh; 18. And Martyrdom; and many other points.

I can conceive no class of arguments more likely than these to convince a sceptical Christian or a truth-loving unbeliever, that our Gospels did not owe their origin to the opinions or to the controversial wants of the Early Christians. In fact, had they been intended for service in the controversies against Jews or Gentiles, they would have purported to come from Jewish or Gentile, not from Christian hands. And though the Apostle John was regarded by the Valentin-

ians as one of the enlightened, yet the other three Evangelists were not well selected, if influence with these Gnostics was desired, nor would all four in the eyes of Marcion have been equal to Paul.

I do not say that the foregoing arguments, if developed, would convince unbelievers of the supernatural character of Christianity, since many of them find an inherent difficulty in such a belief; but their development would materially reduce the number of questions which want of familiarity with Early Christian history has left open, and might in many instances remove the main reasons for distrusting the Gospel narrative. I am not, of course, to be understood as maintaining that no interpolations whatever exist in the Gospels.

§ XXVI. CHURCH AUTHORITY.

THE authority of individual Fathers stands lower than formerly. But the advocates of Church authority regard unanimity of the early Church — that is of the Catholics — on a point of belief as settling its correctness,* and the multitude of

* One of the ablest and calmest of late Roman Catholic writers, J. A. Moehler, says, in his *Symbolism*, "Whoever takes the pains to study the writings of the holy Fathers may without much penetration discover, that, while agreeing perfectly on all ecclesiastical (?) dogmas, they yet expatiate most variously on the doctrines of Christian faith and morality. . . . While now all Catholics gladly profess the same dogmas with the Fathers of the Church, the individual opinions, the mere human views of the latter, possess in their estimation no further value, but as they present reasonable grounds for acceptance, or as any peculiar affinity of mind may exist between one Father of the Church, and a Catholic of a subsequent age. . . . We will not and cannot believe otherwise than as our fathers have believed. But as to their [individual] peculiarities of opinion, we may adopt them or not as we please." Sect. 42, pp. 369 - 371.

Christians who yet hold this view should prevent it from being regarded — as sometimes happens — with simple indifference or contempt. That a considerable portion of men should be subject to an error that cramps their own independence, ought not to be a matter of indifference, nor does it seem a fit subject for contempt.

If we have evidence that the Catholics of the second and third centuries believed any proposition unanimously, we have evidence that they believed the following: — “Jesus Christ at his death went on a mission to the subterranean world.” But the earth is now known to be a solid globe, revolving in space. Their belief, therefore, of a subterranean world, and the mission to it, was incorrect.

APPENDIX.

13*



APPENDIX.

NOTE A.*

CHRIST THE SPECIAL DEITY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BESIDES the Humanitarian division of the Early Christians, which included such as were commonly called Jewish Christians, or Ebionites,† and a part — it is difficult to say precisely how large a part ‡ — of Gentile Christians, there was

* Referred to in pp. 9, 10, 15, 98.

† By Jewish Christians are not usually meant such as originated from Alexandrine Judaism, but those who retained Judaism as it existed in Palestine, and who were strenuous for the ceremonial law. Touching these, however, it is but fair to say, that the statement in the text has been disputed. As its proof would require more space than appropriate here, I give simply my judgment concerning it.

‡ Justin admits to Trypho, "There are some even of our race (that is, some Christians of Gentile extraction) who confess him (Jesus) to be the Messiah, but maintain that he was a man born of human parents." Dial. c. 48, p. 144. C.

Origen regards the multitude which followed Jesus from Jericho as emblematic of the Gentile multitude ascending with him from earthly things (to the heavenly Jerusalem); the blind man by the way-side as typifying the miserable relic of Judaism; and adds: "When you regard the faith, concerning the Saviour, of the Jews who believe on Jesus, some regarding him as the son of Joseph and Mary, others of Mary and the Holy Spirit, but without any belief in his divine nature, you will comprehend how this blind man says, '*Son of David, take pity on me,*' - - and the multitude rebuked him - - those from the Gentiles who, with few exceptions, have believed him to be born of a virgin, and rebuked the man that thought him born after the ordinary manner." In Matt. Tom. XVI. 12, Opp., Vol. III. pp. 733. A., 734. A. Origen does not say that the Gentile Christians with few exceptions believe Christ's divinity, and some expressions in his writings appear to imply the reverse. See Forrest's History of the Trinity, pp. 35 - 37 (Meadville edit., pp. 48 - 50).

Tertullian says: "The simple, - - who constitute THE LARGER PART OF BELIEVERS, - - proclaim that two and three gods are preached by us, but assume that they are worshippers of the one God." Adv. Prax. c. 3, p. 635. C. D.

another class from the time of Justin Martyr, or perhaps from an earlier date, who maintained that Jesus was the Deity who had appeared to the Patriarchs and Prophets and had talked to Moses from the bush.* They distinguished between the Supreme Deity, who was without a name,† and Jesus, who had a name.

Justin tells the Gentiles, "All the Jews even now teach, that the God without a name spoke to Moses, - - who (the Jews) having it expressly stated in the records of Moses, that '*the ANGEL OF GOD spoke to Moses in a burning flame from the bush, and said, I am he who exists, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob,*' maintain that it was the Father of all things and the Creator who said these things. Whence the prophetic spirit, reproving them, said, '*Israel did not know me, and The People did not understand me.*' And again Jesus, as we have already shown, said when among them, '*No one has known the Father except the Son (nor the Son except the Father), and those to whom the Son shall reveal him.*'" ‡

* I am inclined to assign a somewhat earlier date than the age of Justin to this opinion, though my only reason for so doing is the strong suspicion that the Marcionite branch of Gnosticism was to a considerable extent but an offshoot from this identical view of the Catholics. The latter, or a portion of them, proved to their own satisfaction, that the God who conversed with the Patriarchs and Prophets was not the Supreme Deity. Some who were convinced by the argument could readily fail to see any evidence which should identify him with Christ, and consequently regarded him as a distinct Deity.

† "No one can affix a name to the ineffable Deity. But if any one should dare to say that he has a name, such a man is crazy with an incurable madness." Justin, *Apol. I.* 61, p. 80. C. "The Father of all things, being unbegotten, has no name, for whoever is called by a name has an older [than himself] who gave him his name." Ibid. II. 6, p. 92. C. "Do not seek the name of God. God is his name. Names are requisite when a multitude of individuals are to be distinguished by appropriate appellations. To God who is alone the name of God is everything." Minuc. Felix, c. 18, pp. 89, 90. The same may be found in Cyprian, *De Idol. Van.* p. 15. "Gifts [or bribes] are not to be offered to the God who is unnamed." Tatian, c. 4, p. 247. B. — "The soul - - names him GOD, using this name alone as appropriate to the true God." Tertul. *Apol. c.* 17, p. 18. B. "The Seventh Heaven, where dwells He who is NOT NAMED [I follow the Latin translation of Laurence, which he made more literal than his English one] and his Elect, whose name has not [in Isaiah's time] been revealed." *Ascension of Isaiah*, ch. VIII. 7.

‡ *Apol. I.* 63, p. 81. A. C. D.

And in his Dialogue with Trypho he alleges, that "in the book of Exodus Moses mystically proclaims and we comprehend that Jesus was the name of that God whose name, the Scripture says, was not communicated to Abraham nor to Jacob. It is stated thus: '*The Lord said to Moses, Say to this People, Lo, I send my messenger before thee, that he may guard thee in the way; that he may lead thee into the land which I have prepared for thee. Attend to him, - - - for MY NAME IS UPON HIM.*' Who therefore led your fathers into the land? You clearly know that it was he who is called by this name Jesus (Joshua *). - - - But since (εἰ) you know this, you will recognize also that Jesus was the name of him who said to Moses, '*My name shall be upon him.*' - - - He was also called Israel."†

The object of this note is simply to enable the reader to apprehend easily the foregoing idea, and I therefore omit extracts from other Fathers, of which a multitude to the same purport could be adduced. The reader will find some of them in Mr. Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels*, Vol II. pp. 247 - 253 (2d edit. pp. 250 - 256).

It may be added, that, though a PERSONAL APPEARANCE of the preëxistent Logos TO THE GENTILES was maintained by none, yet, in opposition to the Gentile claim of superior antiquity for Heathenism, Justin affirms that Socrates and other philosophers participated in, and lived according to, the Logos,‡ so that, according to this view, anything good in Heathen philosophy was not prior to Christianity, but a part of it, being derived from Christ. Justin, in support of this idea, and to save the superior antiquity of Christianity, claims these men as Christians.|| Clement of Alexandria, from a more generous motive, takes the same ground concerning the origin of Greek Philosophy.¶

* Jesus and Joshua are the same name in the Greek.

† Dialog. c. 75, p. 172.

‡ Apol. I. 46, p. 71; II. 10, p. 95.

|| Ibid.

¶ See *Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria*, by John [Kaye], Bishop of Lincoln, pp. 190 - 193, 202, 203. From the former of these references the following citation of Clement is made: "Who, then, was their teacher? (i. e. the teacher of the Greeks). 'The First Begotten, the Counsellor of God, who foreknew all things. He is the teacher of all created beings; he in various ways from the foundation of the world has instructed man, and leads him to perfec-

NOTE B.*

MORTALITY AND IMMORTALITY.—LIFE AND DEATH.

THE Fathers used the terms Life and Death as antitheses of each other, and employed the latter as do moderns to designate the separation of the soul from the body, or to express a morally lost condition, or as an appellation of Satan.† Some of the Catholics and Heretics believed an Annihilation of the wicked or earthly. How far they designated this by the term Death I do not know. Aside from these meanings, the term Death, in the period covered by this essay, designated a residence in or consignment to the Underworld, as must already be evident, and Life, its antithesis, an exemption therefrom. The former seems to have been regarded as the lot of Human Nature or Mortality, the latter of Divine or Immortal Natures.

In order, however, to understand some of the early Christian theology on this point, it must be remembered that a distinction was frequently made by the ancients between Soul and Spirit. The latter was the essence of immortal beings, the former was human.‡ Adam, whether he were originally

"tion." And from the latter the following: "Philosophy may be reasonably supposed to have been given by Divine Providence as a preparation for perfection through Christ. . . . They who deny that Philosophy comes from God, go near to question his particular Providence. . . . They who affirm that Philosophy was given by the Devil, make him more benevolent than Divine Providence to good men among the Greeks. . . . The Law was given to the Jews, Philosophy to the Greeks, until the advent of Christ."

* Referred to in pp. 16, 34, 56, 59, 72, 92, 101, 122, 134.

† See extract from Origen in a note on p. 62.

‡ This distinction existed independently of any idea of personal character as expressed by the term *spiritual*. Thus, in the Book of Enoch the Deity is represented as saying to the fallen Angels, "You from the beginning were made spiritual, possessing a life which is eternal, and not subject to death for ever; . . . being spiritual, your dwelling is in heaven" (ch. XV. 6, 7); and as adding concerning the Giants, the offspring of these angels and of their earthly brides, "Now, the Giants who have been born of Spirit and of Flesh shall be called upon earth. Evil spirits . . . Evil SPIRITS shall proceed from their flesh [i. e. spirits, not souls, shall be disengaged from their bodies at death], because they were created from above." Ibid. verse 8.

The distinction between soul and spirit appears, perhaps, in the phra-

immortal, and became human through his fall ; or whether he were created neither immortal nor human, but capable of becoming either ; * or whether he were human at his creation ; — yet in any case as a human being he could not become, according to the views of some among the Fathers, a denizen of heaven. His doom as a mortal was the Underworld.

Thus, in passages already cited, Hermas informs us that the departed who were in the Underworld “ could not otherwise enter the kingdom of God, than by laying aside the “ mortality of their former life.” † Arnobius speaks of the departed whom Christ aided, as having laid aside the “ lot of “ Mortality ” ; ‡ which, by a comparison with the extract from his writings in § XXII. 3, would seem to mean that they had been rescued “ from the jaws of Orcus.” Tertullian treats Christ as having, “ BECAUSE HE WAS A MAN, - - - gone “ through the form of human death in the Underworld.” || And Origen, we have seen, treated the detention of the departed in the Underworld as the “ condition affixed [prior to “ Christ’s time] to dying.” ¶

If HUMAN nature was necessarily the prey of the Underworld, it was no unnatural conception that this nature must be changed, that it must become immortal or divine before entering heaven. This conception was actually entertained,

seology of the Apocalypse, which mentions (vi. 9) “ *the SOULS of them that were slain,*” and again (xx. 4), “ *the SOULS of them that were beheaded* ” ; but (i. 4) “ *the seven SPIRITS* ” before God’s throne ; an expression similar to which occurs in iii. 1, iv. 5, v. 6. See also, in a note on p. 92, Origen’s query as to God and the angels having souls.

* Theophilus advances this view. “ But some one will say to us, ‘ Was man naturally mortal ? ’ By no means. ‘ What then : immortal ? ’ “ No. But some one will say, ‘ Was he nothing at all ? ’ I do not say “ that. He was neither mortal nor immortal by nature. For if he had “ originally been made immortal, he would have been made a god ; but “ if mortal, God would seem to be the cause of his death. He was made “ therefore neither immortal nor mortal, but, as we said above, capable of “ becoming either - - -. Observing the command of God, he would receive immortality as a reward and become a god ; but if he should turn “ to the works of death, being disobedient to God, he would be the cause “ of his own death.” Ad Autol. c. 27, p. 368. A. B.

† See p. 59.

‡ See p. 34.

|| See note on p. 32.

¶ See p. 65.

and the method of creating this change was, according to some, the infusion into human nature of Christ's divine or spiritual nature.

Irenæus says: "Those who deem Christ the son of Joseph, - - - not being [according to their own principles] commingled with the Logos of God the Father, - - - are debtors of [or due to] Death, - - - to whom the Logos speaks, narrating his own office of kindness, '*I said, Ye are all gods and sons of the Most High* [if ye will accept my gift], but '*ye die like men.*' He says these things to such as do not accept the gift of adoption (or sonship), - - - DEPRIVING MAN OF THE ASCENT TO GOD,* - - - for to this purpose the Logos became man, that man, by being commingled with the Logos, and receiving the adoption, should become a Son of God. For we could not otherwise receive incorruptibility and immortality than by being united to incorruptibility and immortality."†

Elsewhere he asks, "How could man pass (or be changed) into a god, unless God passed into man?"‡

Elsewhere, again, Irenæus quotes from Ps. xlix. 1, "*The God of gods, the Lord spoke,*" and after asking, "But of what gods?" answers, "Of those to whom he says, '*I said ye are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High*'; that is, of those who have received the favor '*of adoption through which we cry, Abba, Father.*'" ||

A fragment preserved under the name of Justin Martyr, but the authorship of which is doubtful, states that, "When God originally formed man, he made his nature dependent on his own choice, determining the experiment by a single command. For he made him, in case he observed this command, the recipient of an immortal lot, but if he transgressed it, of the reverse. Man being thus formed, and turning his face immediately towards transgression, received corruptibility into his nature. But corruptibility being in our nature, it was necessary that he who wished to save us should cause this substance to disappear, which oc-

* On the connection between Sonship of God and ascent to heaven, compare page 134.

† Cont. Hæres. III. 19. 1 (III. 21). Compare IV. 38. 4 (IV. 75).

‡ Ibid. IV. 33. 4 (IV. 59).

|| Ibid. III. 6. 1 (III. 6).

"casioned corruption. But this could not otherwise take place unless that which by its nature was life (i. e. possessed of an inherent incorruptibility or immortality) should be united to that which had received into itself corruptibility, thus causing the corruptibility to disappear, and preserving as immortal thereafter that which had received it. On this account it was necessary for the Logos to come in a body, that he might free us from the corruptibility of death in our nature." *

The idea of Irenæus and of the foregoing writer appears to be, that a divine or spiritual and immortal nature must first be mingled with a human one, and we then, by becoming participants of this double nature, participate in the divine nature which it contains. An inherently immortal substance is thus mingled with our perishable souls.

Among various reasons which create doubt as to Justin having written the above fragment, is the different view which he advances in his Dialogue with Trypho. He quotes at some length from the eighty-second Psalm, "*I have said ye are gods,*" &c., and states that his object is to show "that the Holy Spirit reproaches men, that being made, like God, IMPASSIBLE AND IMMORTAL, PROVIDED THEY OBSERVE HIS COMMANDMENTS, and being honored by him in that he calls them his Sons, even these likewise, being assimilated to Adam and Eve, WORK OUT DEATH to themselves. Let the interpretation of the Psalm be as you wish, and it is nevertheless manifest that they were honorably destined to be gods, and to the ability of becoming Sons of the Most High, and of their own choice they prefer to be judged and condemned as were Adam and Eve." † These remarks follow a statement that the Jews were somewhat disturbed at hearing Justin claim that "we are the true children of God, who observe the commands of Christ." ‡

According to this, Adam's descendants were, equally with himself, born immortal, and destined to remain so if they observed God's commands. An examination of Justin's views in § IX., including the note on p. 44, will render it probable that Justin deemed the Mosaic Law an insufficient means of righteousness, and that the power of Christianity alone en-

* Justini Opera, pp. 597, 598.

† Ibid. c. 123, p. 217. B.

‡ Dialog. c. 124, pp. 217. E., 218. A.

abled a man to be so observant of God's commands as that he could escape death.—By death in the above extract, as in that from Justin under § IX., it seems difficult to understand anything save subjection to the Underworld or its ruler.

I suspect that the capacity of communicating immortality was one sense — though, unless the Latin translator have added his own explanation, it was not the only sense — intended by the author of the *Adumbrations* on Peter as an attribute of God's Word or Logos. He quotes ch. i. 23, "*Regenerated, not with corruptible SEED,*" and says: "The soul, therefore, which is poured out at the same time with [the destruction of] the body, is, as some think, corruptible, (i. 25) '*but the word of the Lord (the Logos or Life-giving spirit) endures for ever.*'" *

The Valentinians based their theory of salvation on the distinction of soul and spirit. According to them, only the Spiritual, and such from among the Psychical (Men of Soul) as were fitted to receive a seed of the Spirit into them, were saved.

NOTE C.†

HEAVENS.

MENTION has been made in the foregoing pages of Marcion, as holding to a system of three heavens, while others believed in seven. Suidas, as quoted by Suicer, says: "There are two heavens, that which was created at the same time with the earth (Gen. i. 1), and the one which was subsequently appointed as a means of separating the waters (Gen. i. 6), which (God) also called the firmament." ‡

* Clementis Opp. p. 1006, lines 26–30. This idea of the soul, we are told in the *Philosophumena*, a work erroneously attributed to Origen, was entertained by Epicurus. He is there represented as holding that "the souls of men perish at the same time with their bodies, in like manner as they are born with them, . . . for they are blood." — p. 28, Miller's edition.

† Referred to on pp. 20, 109.

‡ Suicer on *Ὀὐρανός*, II. D. 2, Vol. II. p. 523.

The Ascension of Isaiah, though recognizing seven heavens, makes in some places the same distinction as above, between the firmament and the (first) heaven,* though it elsewhere confounds them.†

A passage from Theodoret, also quoted in Suicer, says : “ He who disbelieves a second heaven goes out of the right way, and he who endeavors to number more follows fables, “ despoising the teaching of the Divine Spirit.” ‡

Marcion may have assumed the two heavens as the highest number mentioned in the Old Testament, and have rested in the idea of a third for the Supreme Deity, as being mentioned by Paul. Paul, however, must have spoken with reference to already existing ideas. And it may either be, that already in his day some of the Jews had supposed a third heaven as requisite for the residence of Jehovah, or it may be that the three lower of the seven heavens were alone supposed accessible to man. The Talmudical opinions collected by Wetstein and Schoettgen, though recognizing the systems of two and seven heavens, do not recognize a system of three. The system of seven heavens or spheres was probably derived from the idea of seven planets moving in as many spheres.

NOTE D. ||

THE ACTS OF PILATE.

JUSTIN MARTYR mentions a document called the Acts of Pilate, ¶ and manuscripts have come down to us bearing this title. The work in its original shape — for some of the

* Ch. VII. 9, 13 ; X. 27, 29.

† Ch. XI. 23, 25.

‡ Suicer as above. — Theodoret would seem from the above to have approved, as well as quoted, an interpretation of the passage (2 Cor. xii. 2) “ *caught up to the third heaven*,” according to which it meant caught up a third of the way to heaven. His quotation of it is given by Suicer, Vol. II. p. 522, C. i. c.

|| Referred to on pp. 38, 143.

¶ Justin, Apol. I. 35, 48, pp. 65. D., 72. A.

manuscripts are much interpolated — appears to have been one of those Pseudo-Heathen documents which Christian controversialists were tempted to forge, because they felt the need of Heathen testimony while challenging Heathen assent to their statements. The document, in what I deem its original shape,* professed to be a public record of the trial of Jesus before Pilate, in which many of those whom Jesus had cured came forward to testify as to what he had done for them. The Christians, in appealing to this, could say, We are not appealing to OUR documents, but to YOURS. If you will not believe us, believe your own public records. The record, however, must by most Christians have been deemed doubtful, since in the second and third centuries Justin alone mentions it, nor does he make any copious use of it. About the close of the third century some publicity must have been given to it by Christians who may themselves have mistaken it for genuine. This at least affords the only plausible explanation of the fact, that about that time the Heathens — thinking, perhaps, that two could play at the same game — met it by a counter forgery under the same title, which was taught to the children in the schools; so that, according to Eusebius, “the boys had “nothing but Jesus and Pilate in their mouths the whole day “long.”†

Besides the above, there is “Pilate’s Report,” or an official letter sent by Pilate to Tiberius concerning Jesus,‡ and not essentially different in object or character from the above. Both are Pseudo-Heathen authorities for points in Christ’s

* The original of the Acts of Pilate I suppose to be best represented by the Manuscripts which Thilo designates as Cod. Venet. (the Venetian Manuscript) and Paris D; or rather by the former and the first portion of the latter, terminating at the close of the twelfth chapter. Even these manuscripts are interpolated. A critical edition of them would shed considerable light on the earliest history, after the Apostolic age, of the controversy between Christians and Heathens. Much confusion has resulted from the custom of treating this, and other Pseudo-Heathen or Pseudo-Jewish documents, under the head of Apocryphal Gospels and Epistles. They are thus made to appear as forgeries of Christian authorities, — of documents by Christ and by his Apostles or followers, whereas this was the very character which their forgers intended them not to bear. The Acts of Pilate are usually published under the title, “Gospel of Nicodemus.”

† Hist. Ecc. IX. 5, 7.

‡ This is probably alluded to by Tertullian in his Apology, c. 21, p. 22. C.

history which we may infer from these forgeries were controverted by the Heathens, and both mention the release of the departed.*

Between these two documents, and blended with the former, as published by Thilo, appear two others. Their contents induce the supposition that they were intended for controversy with the Jews rather than the Gentiles, since the investigations reported in them concerning the facts of Christ's resurrection and ascension are conducted by Jews. In one of them, a weak production, Joseph of Arimathea is prominent. The other, printed in continuation of it by Thilo, is a narrative, in the heroic strain, of Christ's deeds in the Underworld, and is probably later in date than any of the others. According to it, the Simeon who took Jesus in his arms was, with two sons and brothers, among the number raised at Christ's resurrection. They are cited before the chief priests, and narrate what took place below. At midnight, they narrate, a light shone into the darkness below, and was recognized by Abraham, the Patriarchs, and Prophets, as the light of the great enlightenment. Notwithstanding the anachronism, it refers probably to the light at the Saviour's birth. Luke ii. 9. Then appeared one like an ascetic of the desert, who announced himself as John, and said that he had baptized the Son of God. Seth, in answer to the request of Adam, tells the reasons for hoping that their liberation is at hand, and while they rejoice at it, Satan comes to make an an-

* The Venetian manuscript of the Acts of Pilate, and that marked Paris D, conclude (with omission of the doxology) as follows: "Then the Lord arose. He awoke Adam and all the Prophets whom the Devil had in his power; and he awoke also all who believed on him." See Thilo, *Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test.* p. 606. The omissions of Thilo prevent his reader from perceiving whether these words proceed from the soldiers who guarded the sepulchre, or by whom they are narrated.

According to Pilate's report, after especial mention of Abraham, the twelve patriarchs, and others, "there appeared in the air an unnumbered multitude of angels, crying, 'The crucified Christ has risen, being a God,' and a voice was heard as the sound of thunder, saying, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good-will to men. Come up out of the Underworld, ye who are enslaved in its subterranean regions.' - - - And the rocks were rent, and great chasms were formed in the earth, - - - and many bodies of the sleeping dead arose, to the number of five hundred [a misapplication probably of 1 Cor. xv. 6]. And the whole multitude walked about and praised God, saying, 'The Lord our God, who is risen from the dead, made all our dead alive, and, plundering the Underworld, destroyed it.'" Thilo, p. 811.

nouncement to Hades (the Underworld) which is here personified. "All-devouring, insatiable Hades, listen to my words," is the beginning of his address; and he tells of what Jesus did on earth, and that by his (Satan's) promptings he had been put to death. Hades is dismayed, fearing the coming prisoner to be the same who rescued Lazarus. While they speak, a voice as of thunder is heard, saying, "*Lift your gates, ye rulers, and be ye lifted up, ye eternal doors.*" * Hades directs everything to be barred, and tells Satan to contend against the Lord.

The saints, secure of their triumph, insult their oppressor: "All-devouring, insatiable Hades, open, *that the King of glory may enter*"; and while they talk to each other, the voice from without is again heard, "*Lift up your gates.*" Hades seeks to gain time by the question, "*Who is the King of glory?*" † An answer comes, "*The Lord, powerful and mighty; the Lord, mighty in battle*"; ‡ and simultaneously with it the gates are crushed in, and Satan is bound and delivered to Hades for safe keeping till the second coming of the Lord. Hades finds grievous fault with Satan for the ruin occasioned by bringing such a prisoner. The saints on ascending to Paradise find Enoch and Elijah, as also the penitent thief, who had been sent thither by Jesus, and had been requested by the Archangel Michael to wait a little until Adam and the saints should come also.

NOTE E.||

RESURRECTION OF FLESH.

MENTION has been made of an Orthodox and a Heterodox or Liberalist party among the Catholics.¶ The chief point of division between them was the Resurrection of the Flesh, which the former maintained in a literal and sometimes in a

* Ps. xxiv. 7.

† Ibid. verse 8.

‡ Ibid.

¶ Referred to on pp. 8, 19, 112, 116, 119.

¶ See § III. and § XXII. 3, 4, 5.

gross shape ; * and which the latter denied. It may also be remarked that the Orthodox generally held and seem to have laid stress upon a Millennium or Reign of Christ for a thousand years on earth, a doctrine not found among their opponents. †

Athenagoras, Tertullian, and Methodius wrote treatises defending a resurrection of the flesh. Fragments of a work in defence of the same are extant under the name of Justin, and are supposed by some to have been part of his work against heresies. Tatian, his disciple, held this view while a Catholic, but afterwards became a Gnostic. Polycarp, Theophilus, and Irenæus, the Ignatian Epistles, and that ascribed to Barnabas, have either argued or expressed themselves in favor of the same view, or have so expressed themselves on subjects which were in their day cognate to it, that no reasonable doubt exists as to their having held it.

The opposite view, owing to the opprobrium resulting from its connection with the heresies of the day, was less likely to receive a free expression. It must, however, have been extensively held among Catholics. Irenæus, as already seen, complains that "some of those who are regarded as having been correct in their belief (i. e. some Catholics) overstep the order of promotion of the just, - - - holding heretical views; for the heretics, - - - not accepting the salvation of their flesh, - - - say that they ascend above the heavens." ‡ Athenagoras informs us that he wrote his treatise in defence of the resurrection, because "in this matter we have found some altogether incredulous, and others doubtful; and even among the acceptants of the first principles [on which the argument for the resurrection rests], some who are equally at a loss with the doubtful; which last, indeed, is the most

* "Since we learn from Isaiah (lxvi. 24) that the bodies of transgressors, remaining imperishable, shall be devoured by worms and incessant fire, so as to be a spectacle to all flesh." Justin, Dialog. c. 130, p. 223. A.

† Among the Liberalists also a tendency appears towards the doctrines of Annihilation and Restoration, and towards the consideration of all punishment by the Deity as reformatory, whilst the Orthodox advance, in general, harsher views of future punishment. An attempt to define the relative positions of the two parties on these subjects would require more space than can here be devoted to it, and a more thorough examination than I have yet bestowed upon it.

‡ Cont. Hæres. V. 31. 1.

"unreasonable of all, - - - since they have in the [conceded] "facts no starting-point for their disbelief." * Tertullian tells us that the resurrection of the flesh "is less readily received "than the oneness of the Deity," † by which latter phrase he means the identity of the Deity from whom the Mosaic and Christian revelations proceeded. There is no need, he informs us in the same connection, of arguing the salvation of the soul, since none deny it.

Justin Martyr appears to struggle with his own conscience in attempting to suppress the fact, of which, considering the above statements, he cannot have been ignorant, that many of the Catholics did not believe a physical resurrection, or, which was the same thing in the phraseology of the Orthodox party, did not believe *THE* resurrection. He puts into the mouth of the Jew the following question: "Tell me, do you "truly confess that this place of Jerusalem is to be rebuilt, "and The People to be assembled and to rejoice with the "Messiah, - - - or is it in order to get the better of us in this "debate that you are willing to confess this?"

Hereto he responds: "I am not so mean, O Trypho, as to "speak differently from what I think. ‡ I confessed to you "formerly that I and many others think thus, - - - but I indicated to you also that many Christians of pure and pious "belief do not acknowledge this. For as to those who are "called Christians, but who are atheists and wicked heretics, "I showed you that they teach wholly blasphemous and "atheistical and senseless doctrines. And that you may understand that I am not saying this to you only, I will write "out our discussion as well as I am able in a book in which "I shall insert myself as confessing what I now confess to "you. For I do not prefer to follow men or human teachings, rather than God and his teachings. For if you meet

* C. 1, p. 316. A.

† De Resurrect. Carnis, c. 2, p. 380. B.

‡ This profession of Justin is adduced by Semisch as a proof (!) of his intense love of truth. See Semisch's *Justin der Maertyrer*, Vol. I. pp. 194, 195. May I caution the reader not to err, on the other hand, by assuming as a fair criterion of Justin's whole character this unworthy equivocation touching the prevalence among Catholics of a view very offensive to the Jews, and to that party of Catholics whereto he himself belonged. Intense party feeling, whether political, theological, or moral, is fruitful in producing such suppression of truth even by otherwise good men.

"with some who are called Christians and do not confess this, but who dare to blaspheme the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, who say also that there is no resurrection of the dead, but that at death their souls are received into heaven,—do not regard them as Christians. . . . But I and any other Christians who think correctly ON ALL POINTS understand that there is to be a resurrection of the flesh and [a residence of] a thousand years in Jerusalem, when rebuilt and adorned and enlarged." *

The natural impression caused by the foregoing is, that a denial of "the resurrection," or of "the fleshly resurrection," was, like the blasphemy against the God of Abraham, a Gnostic peculiarity. Justin's intention certainly was to convey the idea that he had been perfectly frank. He acknowledges a disbelief of the Millennium as prevailing among some Catholics, and leaves it to be inferred that, had he known a further disbelief on their part, he would have owned it. By avoiding to make the Jew question him concerning the resurrection, he avoids the need of a direct answer as to whether any Catholics did or did not reject it in the only form in which a thorough Jew would have recognized it. The tirade against the Gnostics is intended to withdraw attention from the disbelief of the Catholics.

Origen had little respect for the fleshly ideas of the Orthodox. He says: "It behooves every lover of truth to apply his mind to these things, and contend concerning the resurrection, that he may save [on the one hand] the tradition of the elders, and may guard [on the other] against falling into the silly conceptions of imbecile men, which are both impossible and unworthy of the Deity." †

Hierax and his party evidently belonged to the Catholics, from the chief body of whom they varied mainly by developing the idea of Melchisedek as a type of Christ, and by pushing to an extreme, or putting into practice, the common Catholic admiration of celibacy. Epiphanius, heresy-hunter though he is, appears to regard him as orthodox touching the Trinity, but informs us that he did not believe "a fleshly resurrection of the dead, but [simply] a resurrection of the dead, a resurrection of souls." ‡

* C. 80, pp. 177, 178.

† Selecta in Psalmos, Opp., Vol. II. p. 534. A.

‡ Epiphanius, Hæres. LXVII. 2, Vol. I. p. 711., B.

Clement of Alexandria, in his criticisms on the Gnostics, forbears any condemnation of their disbelief in a physical resurrection; and in speaking of the punishments in the Underworld as salutary and leading to conversion, he adds: "And this, since souls when freed from their bodies can see more clearly, even if they be darkened by suffering, because they are no longer joined to the flesh."* Other passages of his writings confirm the idea that he rejected the Orthodox view.

Arnobius acknowledges to the Heathen that he believes a resurrection, yet with the significant addition, that it is "understood by you differently from what we hold";† and he elsewhere treats the Heathen persecutions as the means of liberation to the Christians on whom they fell; the body being but a prison, and the destruction, roof and wall, of that prison being the means of introducing light to, and removing blindness from, the prisoner within.‡

Cyprian is the only writer of any note whose position might be a matter of doubt. In treating of man's death, he appears to regard it as a transfer to his permanent, not to his temporary home. "Let us embrace," he says, "the day which assigns to each his abode; which when we are taken thence (out of the world) restores us to Paradise and the Celestial Kingdom. Who when in a foreign land would not hasten to revisit his country? Who whilst hastening his homeward voyage would not long for prosperous winds, that he might the sooner embrace the dear ones? Let us regard Paradise as our country! We have already begun to esteem the Patriarchs as our parents. Why should we not hasten and run that we may see our country and salute our parents? A great number of the dear ones are there expecting us; a dense and numerous crowd of parents, brethren, and children are longing for us, secure of their own immortality [divinity?] and solicitous as yet for our salvation [exemption from the lot of human nature?]."||

Yet in two passages Cyprian, whilst imitating an argument of his master Tertullian, introduces the Orthodox idea of the resurrection. Tertullian, in a declamatory address to the ladies, after complaining of their head-dress, their dyeing their hair, &c., adds: "I shall see (at the day of resurrection)

* Strom. VI. 6, p. 764, lines 6-9.

† Adv. Gent. II. 13.

‡ Ibid. II. 77.

|| De Mortalitate, p. 166; compare De Exhort. Martyrii, pp. 183, 184.

" . . . whether the angels will carry you painted in that fashion into the clouds to meet Christ." * Cyprian, in his tract on the same subject as the foregoing, asks : " Are you not afraid, I pray, lest, when the day of resurrection arrives, your artificer should not recognize you in such a plight ?" † And again, Tertullian, in answer to those who deemed baptism unnecessary because Abraham had pleased God without it, says that faith alone might suffice for salvation prior to Christ's suffering. But since the objects of faith have been multiplied by the NATIVITY, SUFFERING, AND RESURRECTION of Jesus, baptism had been added as a seal. Shortly after he adds, touching heretical baptism, that he cannot recognize it because they do not have THE SAME GOD as the Catholic Christians, nor a COMMON CHRIST, and therefore not a common baptism. ‡ Cyprian, in a passage on heretical baptism, imitates the above by asking whether Marcion holds the " SAME SON CHRIST as we, BORN of the Virgin Mary, who . . . conquered death BY DYING, and in his own person initiated the resurrection of the flesh." ||

The probability is, either that Cyprian held different views at different periods, or that, after becoming a Liberalist, his study and imitation of Tertullian betrayed him at times into phraseology inconsistent with some of his own opinions.

NOTE F.

FURTHER REMARKS ON § XXII. 5.

BESIDES Tertullian, who alone is quoted in that division of § XXII. whereof this note is the continuation, two documents are sometimes cited as belonging to the third century and as consigning Christian souls, on their departure from this life, to the Underworld. One is a treatise entitled " Of the Rule of Faith," or " Of the Trinity." It has been attributed to

* De Cultu Feminarum, II. 7, p. 178. A.

† De Habitu Virginum, p. 100.

‡ De Baptismo, cc. 13, 15, p. 262.

|| Epist. 72, p. 200.

Tertullian, Cyprian, and Novatian,* and been published by Jackson as the work of the last-mentioned writer. The date at which it is first mentioned inclines me to regard it as a work of the fourth century, towards the close of which we first hear of it. A partial perusal of it inclines me to deem it deserving of more attention than it has received. The passage touching souls, with the connection in which it stands, is as follows: " (God) even in the upper regions, that is, in those " which are above the firmament and not visible at the present " day to our eyes, originally instituted angels, classified " spiritual powers, appointed thrones and principalities, and " founded many other immensely spacious heavens and in- " finite works which are concealed from us; so that this " world, however immense, may appear to be the last, rather " than the only, work of God's physical creation. For neither " are the regions below the earth void of classified and ap- " pointed powers. For it is the place whither the souls of " pious and impious are conducted, experiencing a foretaste " of the future judgment, to the end that we may perceive " that the superabundant immensities in all parts of his works " are not confined within the inclosures, however capacious

* Rufinus says that certain heretics belonging to the party of Macedonius, who thought blasphemously of the Holy Spirit, had inserted into the collection of Cyprian's Epistles, Tertullian's reprehensible tract on the Trinity (meaning perhaps the foregoing), and sold it through the whole city of Constantinople at a cheap rate. (*De Adulteratione Lib. Origenis*, in *Origen. Opp.*, Vol. IV., *Append.*, p. 53. A.B.) To this statement Jerome responds in his usual rough way, that it contained two lies, for the work was neither written by Tertullian nor attributed to Cyprian, but was (or was called) Novatian's, whose name was inscribed in its title. (*Apol. adv. Rufin.*, *Hieronymi Opp.*, ed. Vallars., Vol. II. Col. 513.) Elsewhere Jerome says of Novatian: " He wrote - - - a large volume concerning the " Trinity, making as it were an epitome of Tertullian's work, most per- " sons being ignorant of which, deem the same to be Cyprian's." (*De Vir. Illust.*, *Opp.*, Vol. II. Col. 911.)

The work published by Jackson is probably the one referred to by Rufinus, for though it gives the Holy Spirit the prominence of a distinct chapter (C. 29), yet it ignores its personality, a fact not remarkable in the earlier days of Christianity. Jerome had evidently no certain knowledge concerning it, and seems to have been prompted in some of his remarks chiefly by the desire of finding fault with Rufinus. It can as little have been an epitome of Tertullian's opinions, or of any work of his, as it can have originated with him. I doubt whether it be Novatian's, for it treats the punishments of God as intended for man's improvement (p. 41, Jackson's edit.), a view which, though possible, is very improbable in such a disciplinarian as Novatian appears to have been.

"(*sinus capacissimos*), as we have said, of this world; and "also that we may think on depths and altitudes below the "world itself; and that thus, having considered the greatness "of the works, we can worthily admire the Architect of such "immensity."

The other document above alluded to may be found at the close of the common English editions of Josephus, as translated by Whiston under the title "Josephus's Discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades." Whiston does not say where he found the original. A Greek document corresponding to the first four fifths of it may be found in Havercamp's Josephus, Vol. II. pp. 145-147 of the Appendix, under the title "[Ex-tract] from the Address of Josephus to the Greeks, inscribed "'Against Plato,' concerning the Cause of the Universe." It has been attributed to Hippolytus, a Christian writer of the third century, and published (perhaps corresponding to the entire English) in the edition of his works by Fabricius. This edition I have been unable to obtain, nor have I elsewhere found valid reason for attributing it to this writer. Judged from internal evidence, it appears to be partly or wholly a Pseudo-Jewish document, forged in the name of Josephus by some Christian, and a portion of it was intended to countenance the interpolation concerning Christ, now extant in the works of Josephus, and first mentioned by Eusebius in the beginning of the fourth century.*

This writer says: "Hades is . . . a subterranean region, "in which the light of the world does not shine. Since, there- "fore, the light does not shine in this region, it must necessa- "rily be in perpetual darkness." But, in strange contrast to this, he continues: "This region is allotted as a place of cus- "tody for souls. . . . The just . . . are now detained in "Hades, but not in the same place as the unjust. . . . The "just are led by a way of light to a REGION OF LIGHT where "the just from the beginning have dwelt."

The natural solution of this incongruity is that the writer, in attempting to put Christian ideas into the mouth of a Jew, had copied some description of Hades as a residence for just

* This interpolation is in his Antiquities, XVIII. 3. 3. Jesus is there spoken of as "a teacher of such men as received the truth with pleas- "ure," and the writer of this Address concerning Hades mentions Christ as one "concerning whom we have elsewhere written more par- "ticularly for such as seek the truth."

and unjust souls, and then attempted to interweave therewith Christian ideas of the way of light, such as may be found in the Epistle of Barnabas, and of a region of light for the righteous; not perceiving that the latter could not be fitted into his own conception — the universal one, apparently — of Hades as a place of darkness.

NOTE G.*

MODERN VIEWS OF THE CLAUSE IN THE CREED, "HE DESCENDED INTO THE UNDERWORLD."

THAT creed which commonly passes under the name of the Apostles contains a clause concerning Christ, that "He descended into the Underworld," or, as it is inappropriately rendered in the ordinary English version, "He descended into Hell," and this creed has been adopted into the most widely circulated Protestant confessions of faith. But the belief of those Protestants was, or soon became, irreconcilable with the only objects which the Early Christians had assigned to this descent, that is, with the only conceptions of it entertained by those who originated the doctrine and who made it an article of faith.

The Protestants, as has been already remarked,† were by their opposition to the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory, and to the liberation therefrom through masses or indulgences, led to give prominence to the idea that no change was possible after death. This being the case, they could not very well concede, that, in the case of the Fathers, a change, or translation, HAD taken place. Equally unnatural would it have been to accept a ministry to the departed, since the only object of such a ministry was to change their condition, or to prepare the way for a change in it. A victory over Satan would be without result, since none were to be liberated by it, and not only would the same have held true of the Ransom, but the latter had since the eleventh century come to be regarded as paid to God.

* Referred to on pp. 87, 138.

† See § XII. 2.

THE LUTHERANS.

Among the books which the Lutherans regard as confessions or expositions of their faith is the Formula of Concord, prepared in 1576, the object of which, according to Mosheim, was "to give peace to the Lutheran Church, and "to guard it against the opinions of the Reformed," that is, of the Calvinists.* It consists of two parts, the Summary View, and the Thorough Exposition. The numbering of the Articles corresponds in these two parts, the ninth being, in each case, CONCERNING CHRIST'S GOING TO HELL.

SUMMARY VIEW. "Article 9. Controversy has been "waged touching this Article among theologians of the Augsburg Confession, as to when and how the Lord Christ went, "as our simple Christian faith teaches, to Hell; as to whether "this took place before or after his death; also, whether it "took place as regarded his soul only, or his divine nature "only; or as to whether it took place with soul and body, "spiritually or bodily. Also as to whether this Article belongs to the suffering, or to the royal victory and triumph "of Christ.

"But since this Article, even as the preceding, cannot be "comprehended by the sense or understanding, but must be "apprehended by faith alone, our unanimous opinion is, that "it is not a subject for discussion, but should only in the "simplest manner be believed and taught, seeing that the "blessed Dr. Luther, in his sermon at Torgau, Anno [15]33, "&c., has explained the said Article in a perfectly Christian manner, precluded all unprofitable, unnecessary questions, and exhorted all pious Christians to Christian simplicity of belief.

"For it is enough to know, that Christ went to Hell, destroyed Hell for all believers, and freed them from the power "of death, Devil, and eternal condemnation to Hell's jaws.† "But as to how this took place we should spare inquiry until

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. III. pp. 153, 154, edit. of Dr. Murdock.

† Had the term Hell been here used in a sense corresponding to the Underworld, the object of Christ's descent would have corresponded to that mentioned in § XXIII. But in German, as in English, the Underworld was not only translated by the term Hell, but commonly, and in the above instance, appears to have been understood as the place of torment.

"in the other world, where not alone this, but other things, will be revealed which we have here simply believed, but could not comprehend with our blind understanding." *

The "THOROUGH EXPOSITION" of the same Article is but a briefer and more definite statement of belief.

[Art. 9.] "OF CHRIST'S GOING TO HELL. — And since, both among the early Christian Fathers and among some of our own teachers, different expositions have been given of the Article concerning Christ's going to Hell, we leave it in the same simplicity of our Christian faith which Dr. Luther pointed out to us in his sermon concerning Christ's going to Hell, preached in the castle at Torgau, Anno [15]33, † for we confess, 'I believe on the Lord Jesus CHRIST, God's SON, born, buried, and gone to Hell.' In which, then, we DISCRIMINATE, as separate articles, the BURIAL of Christ and his GOING TO HELL, and we believe simply that THE WHOLE PERSON, GOD and MAN AFTER THE BURIAL, went to Hell, overcame the Devil, destroyed the power of Hell, and took all his might from the Devil. But as to how this took place we shall not trouble ourselves with acute and exalted thoughts, since this article can equally little as the preceding — How Christ is placed at the right hand of the almighty power and majesty of God — be comprehended with the understanding and the five senses, but is to be believed alone, and literally held. Thus we obtain the substance of it, and the consolation that neither Hell nor the

* The original of this may be found in "Concordia — Die Symbolischen Buecher der Evang.-Lutherischen Kirche," von F. A. Koethe, Leipzig, 1830, on pp. 383, 384.

† A note in the Concordia refers to the "Sechsten jenaischen Theile [of Luther's works no doubt], p. 76, b. 77 und 78." In Koenig's Lehre von Christi Hoellenfahrt (pp. 153, 154) is an epitome of this sermon, according to which the second point in it appears to have been that Christ descended SOUL AND BODY, yet so that his body remained at the same "time in the GRAVE." Luther seems to have held different opinions at different times, and his irreverence and impetuosity were probably increased by his own perplexity when, in his exposition of 1 Mos. [c.] 7, he affirms, "that he (the Apostle Peter) blurts out like a madman, or one that is possessed (wie ein wahnsinniger oder besessener Mensch), with words which even at this day we cannot understand." I quote from Koenig, p. 155, who refers to Luther's Works, ed. Lips., Tom. I. pp. 512, 513. The reader may think that such a statement would be more applicable to the above extract from Luther's own sermon, than to the Apostle.

"Devil can take prisoner nor injure us nor any of those who believe on Christ." *

The history of theology presents more instances than the above, in which an obvious absurdity has been glossed over with the title of an incomprehensible article of faith; and in which the inconsistency has been superadded, of stating that an idea could not be comprehended, and nevertheless had been satisfactorily explained.

GERMAN AND DUTCH CALVINISTS.

The Heidelberg Catechism, published in 1563, is the manual of instruction for the German and Dutch Reformed (or Calvinist) Churches. Question 44 asks, "Why is there added, He descended into Hell." Answer: "That I may be assured and wholly comfort myself in this, that my Lord Jesus Christ, by his inexpressible anguish, pains, terrors, and hellish agonies, in which he was plunged during all his sufferings, but especially on the cross, hath delivered me from the anguish and torments of Hell."

"A Compendium of the Christian Religion for those who intend to approach the Holy Supper of the Lord," is at present (and was perhaps originally) connected with, or a part of, the Catechism. Its twentieth Question asks, "What is the sum of that which God hath promised in the Gospel, and commanded us to believe?" Answer: "That is comprehended in the twelve articles of the Catholic Christian Faith, which are as follows." Here follows the Apostles' Creed divided into twelve articles, and in the fourth article the clause, "He descended into Hell." Question 32: "What then hath Jesus Christ done to save us?" Answer: "He has suffered for us, was crucified, and died, was buried, and descended into Hell; that is, he suffered the torments of Hell, and thus became obedient to his Father, that he might deliver us from the temporal and eternal punishment due to sin."

FRENCH CALVINISTS.

Perhaps the name of Calvin might have stood more appropriately than French Calvinists at the head of this, since the

* Koethe's Concordia, pp. 484, 485.

only quotation in it will be from him. The Early French Calvinists were, however, devoted to his authority. The quotation is from his Institutes: "But it is not right to omit his "descent into Hell," which is of no small importance towards the accomplishment of Redemption.* - - - It was necessary for him to contend with the powers of Hell and the horrors of eternal death; - - - he was made a substitute and surety for transgressors, and even treated as a criminal himself, to sustain all the punishments which would have been inflicted on them, only with this exception, that '*it was not possible that he should be holden of the pains of death.*' Therefore it is no wonder if he be said to have descended into hell, since he suffered that death which the wrath of God inflicts on transgressors."†

ANGLICAN CHURCH.

In the Articles of this Church, the third says: "As Christ died for us and was buried, so also it is to be believed that he went down into Hell."

When the Articles were first issued, in the year 1552, the following explanatory clause was connected with the foregoing: "For his body lay in the sepulchre until his resurrection; the Spirit which he gave up was with the spirits who were detained in prison, or the lower regions, and preached to them, as the passage of Peter testifies," &c. ‡

In the days of Queen Elizabeth, this explanation was erased, || and it is but indirectly that any explanation is elsewhere alluded to. The Thirty-fifth Article enumerates certain homilies as containing "a godly and wholesome doctrine," and appoints them "to be read in churches by the ministers diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people," and in the fourteenth of these homilies is a passage, which, though obscured by declamation and by the mingling of disconnected ideas, implies a victory won by the Saviour below. "His death destroyed death and overcame the Devil. - - - Thus is

* Institutes, Book II. ch. 16, sect. 8. The citation is from Allen's translation, Vol. I. p. 408, Lond., 1838.

† Ibid. sect. 10, p. 409.

‡ See Pearson on the Creed, p. 341, edit. New York, 1844.

|| See Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 626, edit. New York, 1843.

"death swallowed up by Christ's victory, thus is Hell spoiled for ever. If any man doubt of this victory, let Christ's glorious resurrection declare him the thing. - - - If Christ had the victory of them all [death, sin, the Devil, and Hell] by the power of his death, and openly proved it by his most VICTORIOUS AND VALIANT resurrection, - - - why may not we - - - say - - - 'Where is thy dart, O Death? Where is thy victory, O Hell?' "*.

Whence it would seem that the way of escape for the Saviour had to be opened by his valor in a personal conflict. Such an association of ideas with the Saviour, though it might kindle a man's soul in the second or third century, is anything but pleasant to a Christian of the nineteenth.

THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION.

The above-named Confession, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms appended, represents, or is regarded as representing, the belief of influential denominations in England and the United States. The Apostles' Creed appears at the end of the Shorter Catechism, and to the clause "He descended into Hell" is appended the following explanatory note: "That is, continued in the state of the dead, and under the power of death, until the third day." †

If we ask what is meant by this explanation, we find that the Confession denies any one state for all the dead, affirming that there are two states, Heaven and Hell, and that "besides these two places for souls separated from their bodies the Scripture acknowledgeth none." ‡ And to these two states we are informed that the good and wicked go at death. || "The communion in glory with Christ which the members of the invisible Church enjoy IMMEDIATELY AFTER DEATH is that their souls are then - - - received into the highest (?) heavens." ¶ Hell can hardly have been intended as Christ's

* Homilies, pp. 387, 388, edit. Philadelphia, 1844.

† This explanation appears also in the answer to Question 50 of the Larger Catechism. "Christ's humiliation after death consisted in being buried and continuing in the state of the dead, and under the power of death, until the third day, which hath been otherwise expressed in these words: 'He descended into Hell.'"

‡ Confession of Faith, Ch. XXXII. 1.

|| Ibid. and Larger Catechism, Answer to Question 86.

¶ Larger Catechism, Answer to Question 86. By comparing the ex-

abode after death, else would an explanatory note have been unnecessary. Let us substitute for this note, therefore, the expressed condition of the righteous dead, and the clause with its note will read, "He descended into Hell,"— "That is, immediately after death was received into the highest heavens."

Such an incongruity cannot have been intentional.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The Articles of this Church, as established in 1801, are simply a revised issue of the Anglican ones. Article III. states, "IT IS TO BE BELIEVED that he (Christ) went down 'into Hell,'" and, as a prerequisite to baptism, the candidate or sponsor is obliged to assent to the questions, "Dost thou believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith as contained 'in the Apostles' Creed?" and "Wilt thou be baptized in 'this faith?" But over the Apostles' Creed stands the direction, "Any churches may omit the words, 'He descended 'into Hell';" implying, as would appear, that IT NEED NOT BE BELIEVED.

Article XXXV., on the Homilies, is copied, with a note which "suspends the order for the reading of said Homilies 'in churches until a revision of them may be made, for the 'clearing of them as well from obsolete words and phrases 'as from local references"; but the note states that "this 'Article is received into this Church so far as it declares the 'books of Homilies to be an explication of Christian doctrine, 'and instructive in piety and morals." This would seem to indorse the doctrine of the Homilies, that Christ had to fight his way out of SATAN's dominions. But over the Apostles' Creed is stated, that the words, "He went into the place 'of departed spirits," are considered as words "of the same 'meaning [with those] in the Creed," and one of the prayers in the burial service is addressed to "Almighty God, with 'whom - - the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered 'from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity," implying apparently, when taken together, that the Saviour was not in the dominions of Satan, but with God.

tract from Justin in § XXII. 2, it will appear that the standard of Orthodoxy had undergone a change.

CONCLUDING REMARK.

Would it not be more to the credit of Christians, if, instead of retaining as a part of their creed, and endeavoring to explain, the above clause, they were candidly to admit, that it originated in the now untenable idea of an Underworld; and that, so far from being a necessary article of faith, it is a tenet which every intelligent Christian, who does not wish to make a mockery of Christianity or to trifle with his own candor, ought to recoil from subscribing or uttering?

NOTE H.*

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES.

IN the Argument for the Gospels (§ XXV.) I have quoted the First and Eighth Books of the Sibylline Oracles. Bleek and Luecke† regard the First and Second Books as belonging not to the period discussed in this Essay, but to the middle of the fifth century, a supposition so strongly contradicted by their general contents, that Luecke's acceptance of it seems singular.‡ One cause of such a supposition may have been a mention of the Holy Virgin, Book I. line 365 (or 359), p. 183, where it must be an error of transcription. The parallel line (Book VIII. line 292, p. 737), from which, however, this may originally have differed, reads, in the same connection, "hope of the peoples (ἐλπίδα λαῶν)." To the foregoing error has been added a misinterpretation of Book II. line 312, which needs a word of explanation. The Fathers regarded Eve as a virgin until after her expulsion from Paradise. She was a virgin, therefore, at the date of her temptation. The author of the Sibylline fragment in which the above line is found seems to have

* Referred to on p. 143.

† See Luecke, *Einleit. in die Offenbar.*, Vol. I. p. 268.

‡ The First Book consists, with its heading, of 407 lines, whereof 330 are so far from being marked by the Catholicism of the fifth century, that they contain no allusion to Christianity. They are probably from a Jew. The remaining 77 are Christian, probably of the second or third century.

held, with the Millenarians, that the Judgment was to supervene seven thousand years after the creation, and states that God "gave seven ages as a time of repentance to men who "had been led astray by an unpolluted virgin." (p. 289.) The allusion is to Eve, not to the Virgin Mary.

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THE END.



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